IONA'S ST JOHN'S CROSS REPLICA: FIFTY YEARS ON

history SCOTLAND

Vol.20 No.3 May/June 2020

EXPERT INSIGHT IN EVERY ISSUE
✓ ARCHAEOLOGY
✓ HERITAGE
✓ HISTORY

The resilience of SCOTTISH WIDOWS of the Thirty Years' War

Threat or true faith?

How the Vikings viewed Christianity

NEW RESEARCH

3 MEN 90 COWS 650 MILES

An epic cattle drove from Skye to Devon

HOW TO TRACE SCOTTISH ANCESTORS WHO STARTED A NEW LIFE IN CANADA

The value of Robert Burns to the Scottish economy

PLUS

NEW boxing archive, interactive map of accused witches, the motivations behind Andrew Carnegie's Scottish libraries

£4.75
05>
9 771475 527033
www.historyscotland.com
WARNERS

VISIT…

LANZAROTE
Caliente.com

Take a tour of Scotland in 2020 with the...

HIDDEN HISTORIES PODCAST

The *History Scotland – Hidden Histories* podcast follows Neil McLennan's travels around the country, as he visits historic sites, attractions and museums, and meets the locals.

Listen at:
https://scot.sh/hspodcast
or via iTunes and SoundCloud

history SCOTLAND

The Final Voyage
of the Clipper Ship Teviotdale in 1876

A true account of a frightening shipwreck and incredible human survival from Able Seaman George Jenkins and his shipmates

Written by
Stuart McEwen Jenkins

A TRUE STORY OF A FRIGHTENING SHIPWRECK AND HUMAN SURVIVAL

BUY TODAY
https://scot.sh/finalvoyage

PATRONS

David Breeze
Christopher Smout Historiographer Royal
Elizabeth Ewan University of Guelph

EDITORIAL BOARD

FIND OUT MORE AT: HTTP://SCOT.SH/HIS-BOARD

Mr Derek Alexander
Archaeologist,
National Trust for Scotland

Dr John Atkinson
Managing Director
GUARD Archaeology Ltd
Medieval and post-medieval settlement and industry

Dr Sonja Cameron
Historian, writer and editor

Prof Hugh Cheape
Sabhal Mor Ostaig College, University of the Highlands and Islands

George Dalgleish
Keeper, Scottish History and Archaeology, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh. Scottish decorative arts, specifically silver, ceramics & pewter; Jacobite collections

Dr Piers Dixon
Operations Manager at the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), (rural settlement and medieval archaeology)

Mr Andrew Dunwell
Director, CFA Archaeology, Edinburgh (Later prehistory and Roman)

Mark A Hall
History Officer (archaeology collections) at Perth Museum & Art Gallery.

Dr Kevin James
Dept of History and Scottish Studies Programme, University of Guelph, Canada

Prof S Karly Kehoe
Canada Research Chair in Atlantic Canada Communities, Saint Mary's University, Canada.

Dr Catriona MacDonald
Reader in Late Modern Scottish History
University of Glasgow

Cynthia J. Neville
George Munro Professor of History and Political Economy, Dalhousie University

Dr Aonghus Mackechnie
Principal Inspector of Historic Buildings, Historic Scotland (Architecture, *c.*1600 - 1750)

Dr Ann MacSween
Principal Inspector, 'Historic Scotland' (Prehistory)

Dr Colin Martin
Honorary Reader in Maritime Archeology
University of St Andrews

Neil McLennan
Writer, education manager and Past President of the Scottish Association of Teachers of History

Dr Allan Kennedy
Lecturer in History, University of Dundee

Prof Angela McCarthy
Scottish and Irish History, University of Otago

Dr Iain MacInnes
Lecturer in Scottish History, University of the Highlands and Islands.

Prof Richard Oram
Scottish Medieval History & Environmental History, University of Stirling

Matt Ritchie
Archaeologist,
Forestry Commission

Mr Geoffrey Stell
Architectural Historian

Dr Simon Taylor
Scottish place-names, University of Glasgow

Dr Fiona Watson
Historian, writer and broadcaster

Dr Alex Woolf
Senior lecturer in History, University of St Andrews

History Scotland was launched in October 2001 at the Royal Museum in Edinburgh by Professor Christopher Smout, Historiographer Royal, who is now one of the magazine's patrons. It is backed by the Scottish history and archaeology professions with leading representatives from a variety of different disciplines on the Editorial Board.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life and the British Humanities Index

history SCOTLAND

www.historyscotland.com
Volume 20, Number 3
May /June 2020

FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to May/June *History Scotland* and we'd like to send you our very best wishes during these challenging times.

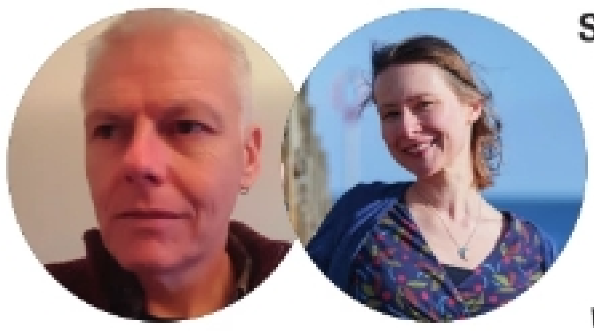
In a world where so much information is readily available online, it's heartening to know that in the world of history, there is simply no substitute for archival research – and the articles in this issue are a case in point; these stories simply could not have been told without the researchers who extracted material from the archives and then interpreted that information to present history in a new way.

Our article on widows of the Thirty Years' War (page 28) is the result of years of study of the correspondence of resilient women making a new life for themselves in the country where their husband had served, whilst on page 16 we take a look at a remarkable cattle drove from Skye to Devon, with archive material providing us with a unique and detailed record of a journey that would otherwise have been lost to us.

Of course the number one priority during this time is our safety. Whilst we are at home, we hope the History Scotland website, email newsletters and digital editions may be a welcome distraction. Stay safe.

Warm wishes
Rachel Bellerby
Editor, *History Scotland*

MEET THE CONTRIBUTORS



Steve Murdoch is Professor of History at the University of St Andrews and **Dr Kathryn Zickermann** is a lecturer in History at the University of the Highlands and Islands.

They have co-authored 'Scottish Widows of the Thirty Years' war on page 28.

Dr John Crawford is a librarian and information historian specialising in Scottish library history. He is a former chairman of the Library and Information History Group and has written extensively on the subject.

John shares his expertise in his article beginning on page 40 looking at the legacy left by industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie in the form of a global network of libraries, many of which still exist today.

Jorge Luis Lazo de la Vega Breton has a Masters in the history and archaeology of the highlands and islands from the University of the Highlands and Islands, and the focus of his research is Viking identity and the conversion process in early medieval Scotland.

On page 46 Jorge presents a study of how the Vikings viewed christianity, arguing that the Christianisation of Viking immigrants in the British isles (and particularly Scotland) was very different from that of Scandinavia.

PROMOTE YOUR BUSINESS TO THOUSANDS

Showcase your products & services to thousands of history lovers around the world with *History Scotland* magazine and website. We have a range of packages available to meet your needs and budget.

Sarah Hopton, tel: 0113 200 2925
e-mail: sarah.hopton@warnersgroup.co.uk

Join the history debate...

History Scotland on social media...

- www.facebook.com/historyscotlandmagazine
- twitter.com/historyscotland
- instagram.com/historyscotland

CONTENTS

28

46

16

40

IN-DEPTH FEATURES

16 **Devon, droves and Jacobites**
We reconstruct an epic, 650-mile cattle drove from Skye to Devon

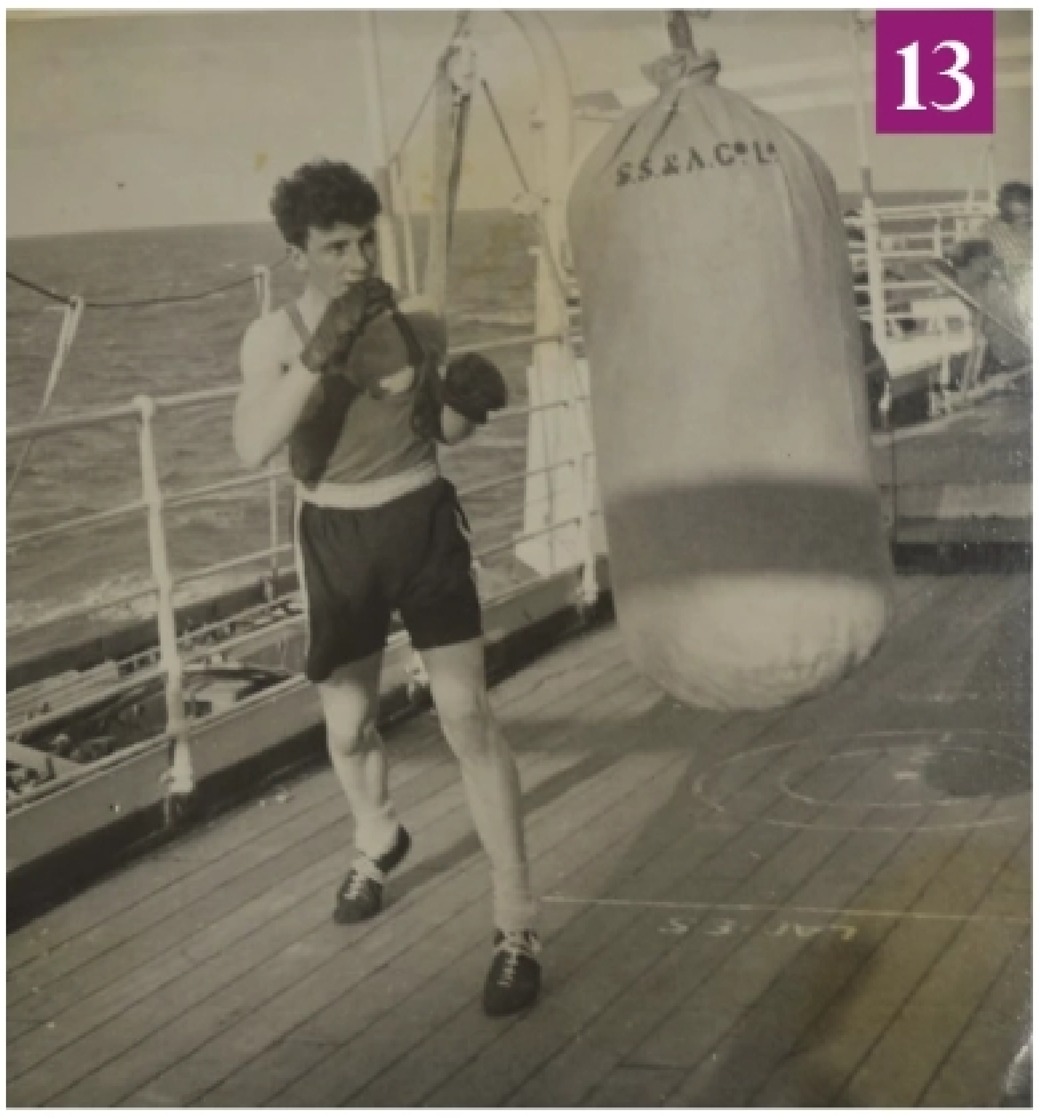
28 **The Thirty Years' War**
An exploration of the findings of the Scottish War Widows project, piecing together the fortunes of those women widowed as a result of the Thirty Years' War

40 **Carnegie's Scottish library benefactions**
What motivated Andrew Carnegie to set up his large-scale public library endownment project?

46 **How did the Vikings see christianity?**
A study of Viking attitudes towards christianity in Scotland and the wider British isles

Want full access to *History Scotland* back issues?

Enjoy hundreds of articles with our archive subscription. Call our friendly team for more information: 01778 391180



FEATURES

22 **Putting accused witches on the map**
An interactive map of over 3,000 accused witches across Scotland, based upon decades of research

26 **Scotland's first zoo**
The early years of Edward Henry Bostock's Scottish Zoo and Variety Circus

33 **Island explorer**
We explore the life of Lismore-born soldier, explorer and naturalist Dugald Carmichael

36 **Washington letter**
New analysis reveals US-Scotland links

37 **My life as a replica**
Pioneering research focusing on the rich social lives of replicas, to mark the 50th anniversary of the St John's Cross, Iona

53 **Canadian ancestors**
An expert guide to websites that can help you find out more about ancestors who emigrated to Canada.

REGULARS... IN EVERY ISSUE

50 **In the next issue**
A sneak peek at our July/August issue, on sale 13 June

56 **Book reviews**
In-depth reviews of recent titles, including a long-awaited oral history of women's experiences in World War II

59 **Ten minutes on...**
The George Square riot of 1919, regarded by some as the closest Britain ever came to a bolshevik coup

60 **Family and local history**
Ideas for tracing ancestors who served in World War II. Plus, spotlight on Appin Historical Society

61 **The 'witch' who walked free**
The story of the Musselburgh woman accused of witchcraft who walked free after five years of legal trials

62 **Final Word**
Murray Pittock on the results of a project to assess the value of Robert Burns to the economy

NEWS

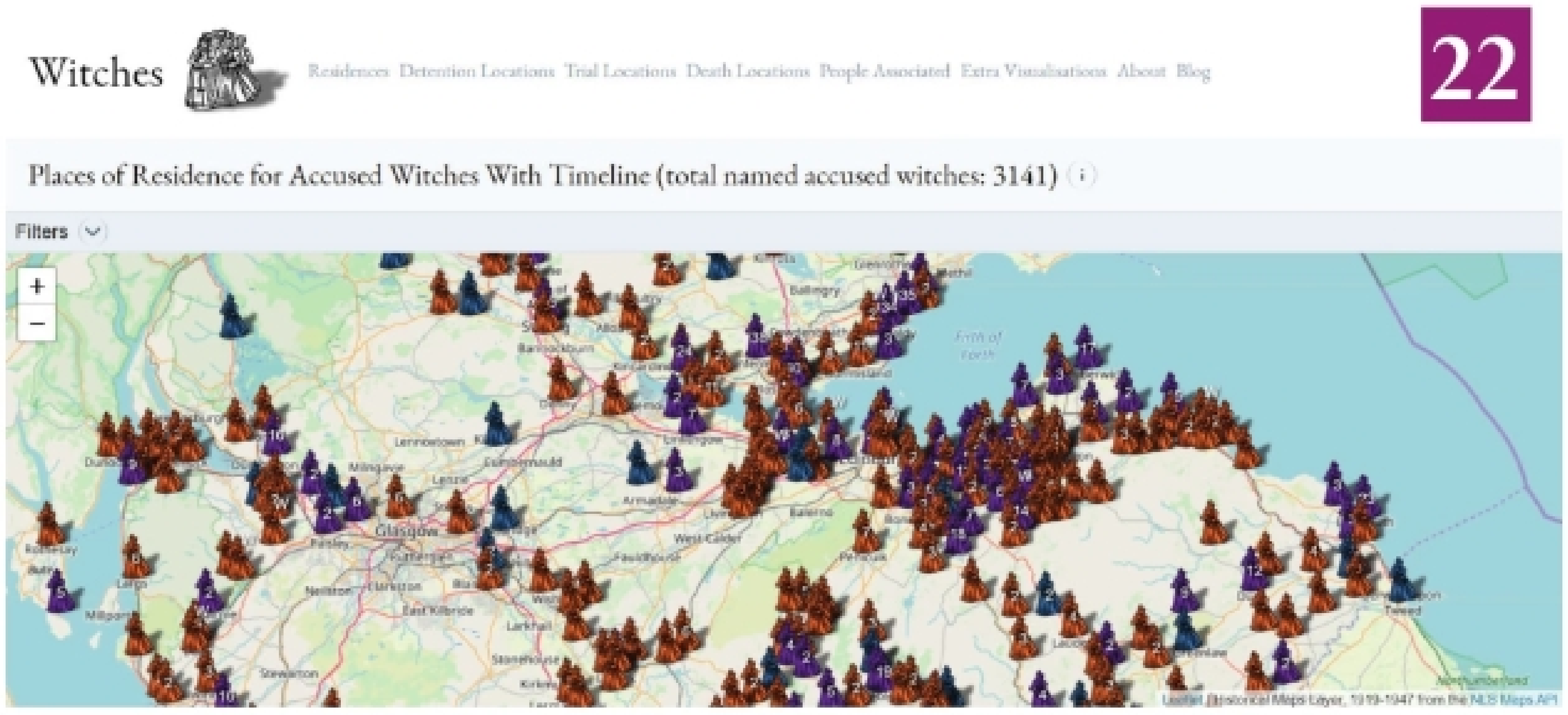
6 **History news**
National recognition for nuclear archive, Carnegie portrait unveiled, launch of historic hotels project

13 **Tales from the ring**
New project to create an archive of the stars of the Scottish boxing community over the decades

ARCHAEOLOGY NEWS

8 **Excavating Kildavie**
A six-year community archaeology project to excavate a post-medieval township in Mull

12 **Tulloch Stone find**
A new find bridges crucial gaps in our knowledge of Scotland's warrior past



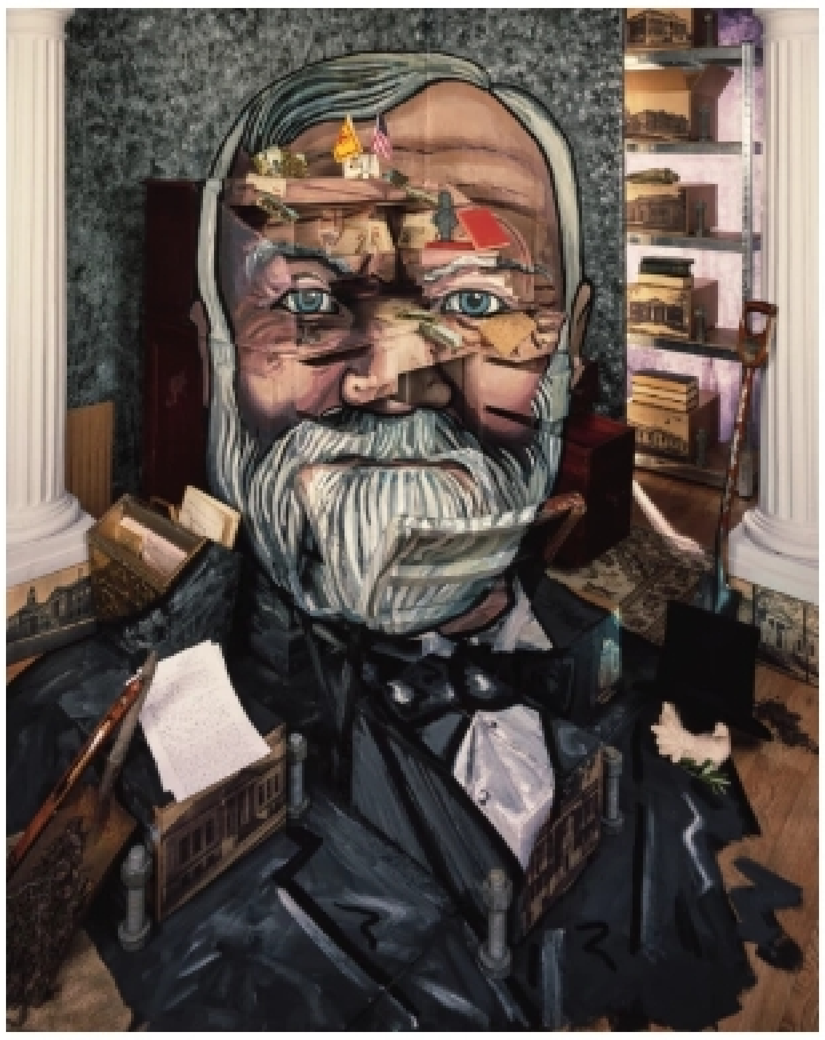
Places of Residence for Accused Witches With Timeline (total named accused witches: 3141)

New Carnegie portrait unveiled

The first portrait of Andrew Carnegie in almost 40 years has been unveiled at the Andrew Carnegie Birthplace Museum in Dunfermline

Calum Colvin, Professor of Fine Art Photography at the University of Dundee, has followed in the footsteps of pop art pioneer Andy Warhol in creating a portrait of Scottish-American industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie. Regarded as one of Scotland's most distinguished contemporary artists, Professor Colvin is known for creating complex constructions composed of three-dimensional stage-sets, populated by everyday household objects and overpainted with subjects that relate to fine art, popular culture, global history, identity and ecology. Diverse items such as Carnegie's *Memo to Self*, in which he pledged to give away his fortune, and a controversial telegram about the Homestead strike in his steel works, are embedded in the portrait to 'invite debate around Carnegie and his legacy'.

Professor Colvin said: 'This was a wonderful project to be involved in. The creation of the work was very "public-facing" with numerous opportunities for dialogue with the public and allowing public access to the genesis of the portrait. It was an added bonus to have so much contextual information on the subject at hand – both to enrich the creation of the work and discussions around it. I am delighted my work will now have such an appropriate and auspicious home'.



The portrait is the first publicly-accessible Carnegie portrait in the UK to be created since Andy Warhol's 1981 artwork

Launch of major new international research project into early modern trade routes

Researchers will explore how Scottish communities traded with mainland Europe

Natascha Mehler surveying the German trading site at Gunnister voe used around 1600

A new project *Looking In From The Edge* will use archive material along with land and sea surveys to explore the earliest stages of the global economy that we know today through the mechanism of the Hanseatic League and other trading networks across the North sea

A team of archaeologists and historians from the University of the Highlands and Islands Archaeology Institute, University of Lincoln and the German Maritime Museum in Bremerhaven have been awarded a grant of £779,000 from The Arts and Humanities Research Council and the German Research Council to undertake a project into how emerging economies identified and adapted to opportunities for trade in early modern Europe.

The three-year programme is led in the UK by Dr Sarah Jane Gibbon at the UHI Archaeology Institute based at Orkney College UHI, who will work collaboratively with Dr Natascha Mehler from the German Maritime Museum in Bremerhaven, who is leading the German team. The UK team includes Associate Professor Mark Gardiner from Lincoln University and a team from the University of the Highlands and Islands comprising Dr Jen Harland, Dr Ingrid Mainland, Paul Sharman, Julie Gibson and Dan Lee.

This project will not only involve academic teams from across northwest Europe, but will also engage local communities and train individuals in various methods of research from archaeology, history and geography. The research teams will use archive research, land and sea surveys, excavation of trading sites, and the study of artefacts and biological remains to examine in detail how the islands of Orkney and Shetland were integrated into a wider economic realm in early modern Europe.

NEW FOR SUBSCRIBERS

Subscribers to the print edition of *History Scotland* magazine can now access an exclusive subscriber-only area of our website www.history-scotland.com. This is a growing archive of articles, interviews, special offers and competitions, with the latest content including an exclusive interview with Gillebride MacMillan talking about the Outlander conference at the University of Glasgow, plus history and heritage events and job/research opportunities.

For the latest subscription offers, visit our website: www.historyscotland.com/store/subscriptions/history-scotland

NATIONAL RECOGNITION FOR 'TRAILBLAZING WOMEN'

Six remarkable women from Scotland's past, from the country's first female solicitor to the first Scottish woman to direct a feature-length film, will be recognised by commemorative plaques

The national scheme from Historic Environment Scotland celebrates noteworthy individuals from Scottish public life, as nominated by the public, by erecting plaques on buildings with strong links to their life or work.

The successful female recipients under this year's scheme are:

• **Madge Easton Anderson (1896-1982)**
The first female solicitor in Scotland. Later became the first woman to qualify to practise law in both England and Scotland and a partner in the first known law firm to be led entirely by women. The plaque will be installed at the Stair Building, which houses the University of Glasgow's School of Law.

• **Mary Burton (1819–1909)**
Social reformer and suffragist. In 1869, she successfully campaigned for the Watt Institution and School of Arts (now Heriot-Watt University) to admit female students. The plaque will be installed at Liberton Bank House in Edinburgh, where Burton lived between 1844 and 1898.

• **Cicily Isabel Fairfield (1892-1983)**
Better known under pen name Rebecca West, Fairfield was a novelist, travel writer and journalist who famously reported on the Nuremberg Trials. The plaque will be installed at Hope Park Square in Edinburgh, which was the location of West's childhood home and inspiration for her novel *The Judge*.

• **Isobel Wylie Hutchison (1889-1982)**
An Arctic traveller and botanist who risked life and limb collecting plants for the Royal Botanic Gardens and Kew. She pioneered new routes across inhospitable terrain and captured some of the earliest documentary footage ever recorded. The plaque will be installed at Carlowrie castle in West Lothian, Hutchison's birthplace and lifelong home.

• **Elizabeth Buchanan Mitchell (1880-1980)**
One of Scotland's leading early female town planners and a pioneer in the profession. She campaigned tirelessly for the importance of open spaces, gardens and quality mass-housing. The plaque is to be installed at the site of Mitchell's home in Biggar, Lanarkshire.

• **Dr Margaret Caroline Tait (1918-99)**
Avant-garde film maker and the first Scottish woman to direct a feature length film with 1992's *Blue Black Permanent*. Tait was also an accomplished poet who published three books of poetry. The plaque will be installed at Tait's birthplace in Kirkwall, Orkney.

National recognition of excellence for Nuclear and Caithness Archive

The Nuclear and Caithness Archive has become the tenth Scottish archive to receive Archive Service accreditation, the Scottish Council on Archives has revealed

Based at a purpose-built site in Wick, Nucleus holds the records of the Nuclear Decommissioning Authority (NDA), including plans, drawings, photographs, film, microfiche and documents from the last 70 years of the UK civil nuclear industry. Alongside this unique collection are held the archives of the county of Caithness, which date from 1469 to the present day.

Simon Tucker, chairman and managing director of NDA Archives Limited, welcomed the award, saying: 'I am delighted with this news. This now completes a three year programme of accreditation that the teams at Nucleus and within the NDA should be rightly proud of. Many individuals have worked very hard since we opened Nucleus in 2017 and the successful attainment of this award, place of deposit status and compliance with a number of international standards demonstrates the quality of the staff, the facility itself and the work that is done there. I am looking forward to continuing to work with the Archive community in sharing best practice and providing a first-class service to all of our stakeholders for many years to come'.

Archive Service accreditation is supported by a partnership of the Archives and Records Association (UK), Archives and Records Council Wales, National Records of Scotland, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Scottish Council on Archives, The UK National Archives, and the Welsh Government through its Museums, Archives and Libraries Wales division. Scottish awards are co-assessed by representatives from National Records of Scotland and the Scottish Council on Archives.

Website: www.scottisharchives.org.uk/accreditation

New History Scotland project recognises history ambassadors

History Scotland has launched Historic Hotels, a Scotland-wide scheme to recognise the work of hoteliers and guest house owners who welcome guests into their historic buildings and help these visitors to discover more about the country's past.

Some of these hotels have been visited by our Hidden History podcast author and presenter Neil McLennan, who has nominated our first award winner: Busta House in Shetland, chosen for the work they do to promote both the heritage of their local area and the history of their venue.

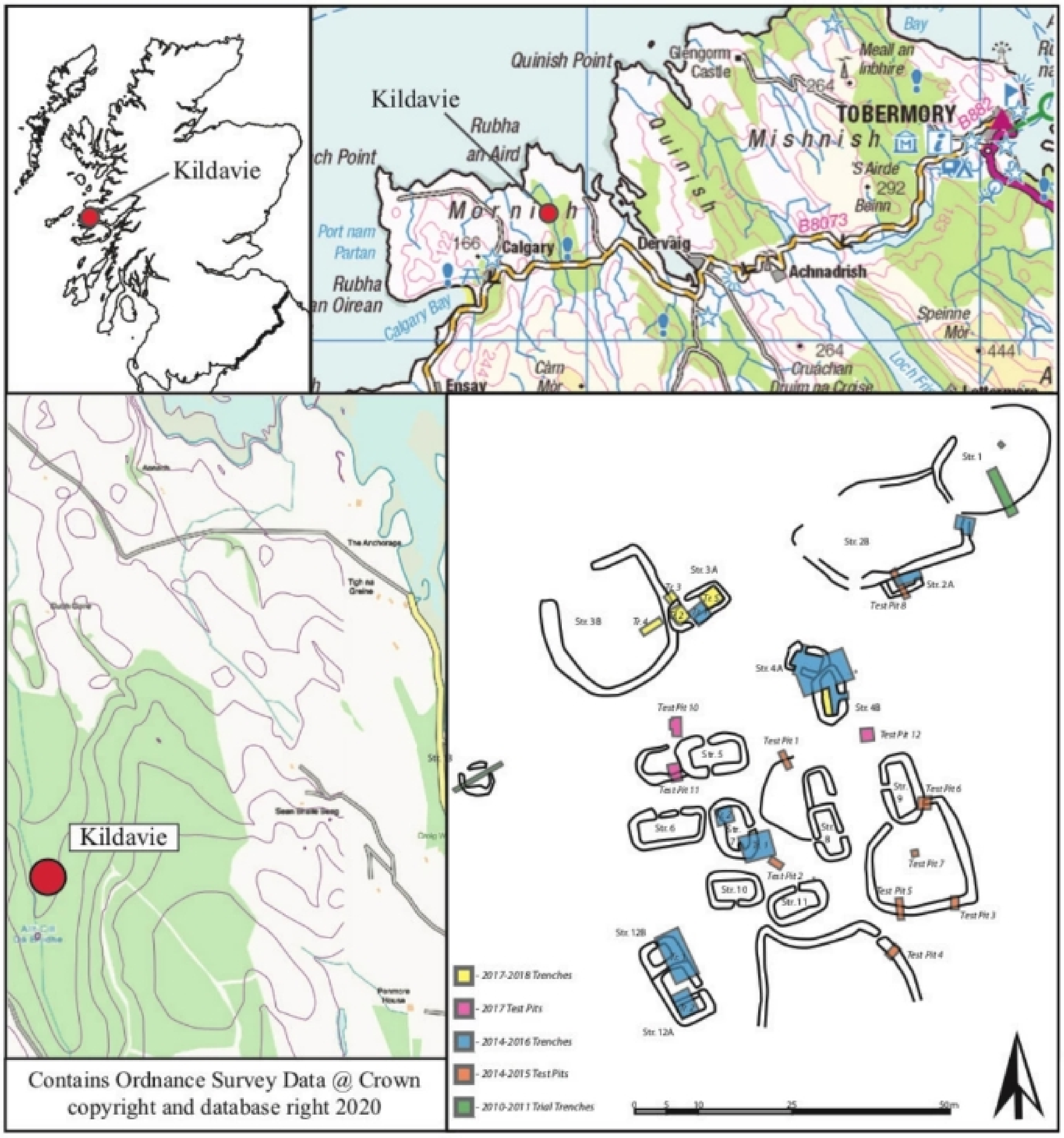
The current owners of Busta House, Grant O'Neil & Joel D'Eathe, both followed the same path into becoming hoteliers, starting work on a part-time basis, whilst still at school, washing dishes and helping out in the kitchen at weekends. From there they both moved into front of house positions as waiters and then continued to rise through the ranks, both becoming duty managers, with Grant moving on to become manager and Joel assistant manager, finally going on to co-manage and ultimately take ownership of the hotel in 2015.

You can read more about the history of Busta House on our website https://scot.sh/busta. To find out more about taking part in the Historic Hotels scheme, contact Sarah Hopton on tel: 0113 200 2925.

Excavating Kildavie

A post-medieval township in north west Mull

Ian Hill of Heritage & Archaeological Research Practice presents the results of a six-year community archaeology project to explore the substantial remains of a small township near the north coast of Mull


Kildavie
Quinish Point
Glengorm Castle
TOBERMORY
Mishnish
Rubha an Aird
Mornish
Calgary
Dervaig
Achnadrish
Calgary Bay
Port nam Partan
Rubha an Oirean
Quinish
Str. 1
Str. 2B
Str. 2A
Str. 3A
Str. 3B
Str. 4A
Str. 4B
Str. 5
Str. 6
Str. 10
Str. 11
Str. 12A
Str. 12B
Test Pit 1
Test Pit 2
Test Pit 3
Test Pit 4
Test Pit 5
Test Pit 6
Test Pit 7
Test Pit 8
Test Pit 10
Test Pit 11
Test Pit 12
🟨 - 2017-2018 Trenches
🟪 - 2017 Test Pits
🟦 - 2014-2016 Trenches
🟧 - 2014-2015 Test Pits
🟩 - 2010-2011 Trial Trenches
0
5
10
25
50m

Contains Ordnance Survey Data @ Crown copyright and database right 2020

Location of Kildavie, Mull, with a plan showing the location of the various structures on the site

Located in the North West Community Mull Woodland at Langamull, the tumbled down and turf-covered remains at the township of Kildavie (in Gaelic, *Cill Da Bhidhe*) provide intriguing evidence of a bygone age. Buildings with low stone-built walls with no evidence of any roof remains lie in a flat open space near a small burn winding its way to the north coast of Mull, with Langamull beach only a stone's throw away. Today's landscape setting is vastly different to what it would have been when the buildings were inhabited, with the township sitting in a clearing of felled commercial forestry. But when was Kildavie inhabited, who lived there, and what was life like for them?

Etymology suggests that the 'Kil' or 'Cil' part of Kildavie is the second oldest place name in the Gaelic language, dating back as early as the 6th and 7th centuries, whilst the site name in full may refer to the site of a possible early medieval ecclesiastical site; a *cill* or *ceall* being defined in Scottish Gaelic as denoting the site of a monk's cell, a church or a burial ground. The *Da Bhidhe* elements of the name may refer to *Do Bí*, a group of eponyms that relate to the Berchán group of hagionyms, which include a number of related saints alive in the early christian period.

Interior of structure 4B

Mapping evidence shows Kildavie on Johan Blaeu's *Atlas* of 1654, which actually dates back to Timothy Pont's survey of Mull in 1575, whilst an estate map produced for Torloisk House in 1790 by James Fraser, shows the township as having fifteen 'houses' surrounded by green pasture, with six clearly marked enclosures of green pasture. Within 100 years of the production of the estate map, the First Edition Ordnance Survey for Argyll and Bute (1877), records the township with eleven unroofed structures and four enclosures. Only one structure is shown with a roof, indicating that the settlement had been mostly abandoned by the second half of the 19th century. Further documentary evidence shows that Kildavie is mentioned as 'Kildawie' in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (1854), whilst parish records related to Kildavie date back to 21 April 1767, recording the baptism of Mary and Ann, lawful twins of Archibald McNiel and Mary Ghoill.

Exploring the remains

The evocative physical remains of the site, along with the possibly medieval roots of the place name, encouraged a local group to investigate and survey the structures. Following guidance and training from Scotland's Rural Past, the group surveyed the structural remains, and went on to form the Mull Archaeology Interest Group. In 2009 Kildavie was accepted by Archaeology Scotland into its Adopt-A-Monument scheme, with the group producing and siting interpretation boards for the settlement and local area.

Once completed, however, the group were still keen to delve deeper into the history of the site, and to try to answer some of the questions regarding the use of the buildings, and the types of people that lived and worked the land in the past. In 2011 Heritage and Archaeological Research Practice (HARP) were asked to assist with initial trial trenching at Kildavie and to develop a programme for training community members as part of a wider excavation. Since 2014 HARP have been running an excavation field school on the site, engaging local community members and university students, from as far afield as Canada, the United States and Australia. The excavations have focused on a number of different buildings on site to try to determine their likely function, and founding date, and to determine whether the site had a medieval origin or not.

The township has the remains of sixteen buildings and since 2014 five of these have been investigated, while a number of smaller test excavations have been conducted across the site to investigate the outlying enclosures and areas of other possible activity. The construction of the buildings indicates rough-hewn, dry stone masonry that would likely have been covered with timber framed, thatched roofs. No roofing material remains on site, and it is possible that as the buildings fell out of use the roof structures were removed and taken to be used elsewhere, with wood and thatched roofs a valuable commodity.

Without the roof remains, the walls of the buildings have been exposed to the elements, with several suffering significant episodes of collapse. The remains have been mainly protected from modern forestry operations, but the soil and intact deposits have also been heavily affected by thick bracken found across the site. The most intensive investigations have been carried out in three of the buildings (structures 3, 4, and 12), which have helped to characterise the nature of the buildings, as well as to identify the likely occupation periods on the site. On the whole, the excavations tend to indicate that Kildavie was a post-medieval settlement, inhabited in the 17th to 19th centuries, which roughly ties into the documentary and mapping evidence that had been previously uncovered.

What remains were found?

Structure 4 is located at the northern end of the township, away from the main nucleus of the settlement, and excavations there have identified two distinct, adjoined structures (4A to the north and 4B to the south). Excavations suggest that 4B is the earlier of the two structures, with 4A attached at a later date, and partially sharing the northern wall of 4B, but there was no evidence of direct communication between the two buildings. The southern wall of 4B is rounded on the exterior, suggesting the roof would have been hipped and not gable ended, and this is consistent with other structures on site that have been excavated to date. The northern end of the building is also curved, though not as prominently, but has been subsequently affected by the addition of Structure 4A. It is unclear as to whether the roof of 4A would have been 'tacked' on as the building had been, or whether the roof itself would have needed to be rebuilt wholesale.

Structure 4B was likely a domestic dwelling, with the stone-built remains of a possible bedstead or bench located in the north eastern corner, whilst the entranceway to the building is located halfway along the eastern wall, and would have been protected from the prevailing southerly and south-westerly winds. No hearth has been identified within the building, but there are suggestions of heat-affected bedrock towards the centre of the building. There was no formal, or laid, floor within the building, and it appears to have been a simple formation of beaten earth and exposed bedrock. On the floor layers a coin, pipe fragments, the partial remains of a pottery vessel and a glass bead were found, which may also support the suggestion of a domestic nature for the building. The buildings walls are located on a slight rise/outcrop of bedrock (a construction feature found in other buildings at the settlement), which likely helped aid drainage and prevent flooding within the building. The lack of

Repurposed 'cell' in structure 12

Archaeologists working at the site

drainage uncovered within the building suggests that this would have been largely effective, although the discovery of a cobbled area around and within the entrance to the building indicates that there may have been some issues with drainage or soft ground there, likely as a result of footfall.

Structure 4A was built in a similar way to 4B, and excavation indicated similar floor and occupation deposits to those in 4B, with exposed bedrock and a beaten or trampled earth floor. A hearth was uncovered slightly off centre in the eastern half of the building, and contained the remains of an iron cook pot. The bedrock surrounding the hearth also showed evidence of being heavily heat affected, with distinct red and black patches emanating from the hearth. The remains within structure 4A do not appear to be overtly domestic in nature, and the building may have been used for some form of cottage industry or working space, with the hearth potentially playing a significant role. The building appeared to have two entrances before excavations began, however excavations suggest that the entrance to the building was located in the northern wall towards its western end and, as with structure 4B, out of the prevailing winds. As with 4B, the building's walls sit on slightly raised bedrock, although there is a natural bowl-like slope towards its centre. There is no evidence of internal drainage, but a cobbled surface within the entrance is indicative of erosion or soft ground, and as in 4B this is likely due to footfall.

Whilst the entrance of structure 4A would have been out of the prevailing winds, there does appear to have been a later remodelling, with a window or opening in the southern wall, opposite to the entrance, pushed through or opened up. This would have provided a significant through-draught in the building, which may have been useful for winnowing or similar activities.

Likely contemporary with this is a deposit of blocking stones sitting on the cobbled entrance in the northern wall, possibly part of the re-use or alterations to the structure. These features support the theory that structure 4A was a small working space attached at a later date to the domestic dwelling of 4B, and likely utilised by its inhabitants.

Later use of the site

Structure 12 is also located on the edges of the settlement, towards the south. Construction techniques are similar to that already discussed, with rough-cut, dry stone masonry, and siting on top of a natural rise in the bedrock. The floors revealed within the excavated areas also show similar form with no built floor present, but rough beaten earth and eroded bedrock forming the living surface. As with structure 4, structure 12 consists of two buildings, with structure 12A being larger and earlier in date to structure 12B. Structure 12B appears to have been 'tacked on', and does not appear to be of the

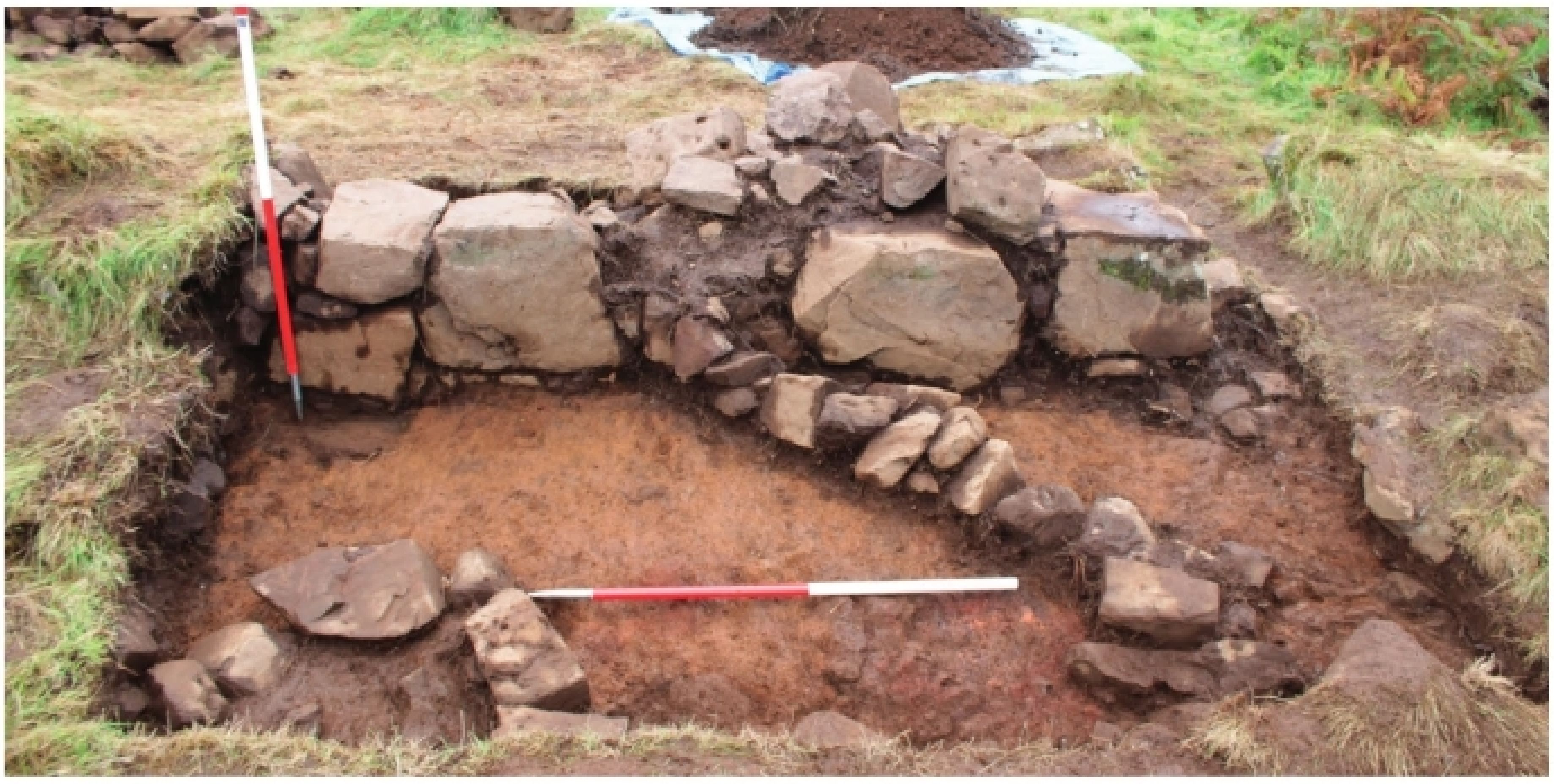
Recording the remains

same quality of construction as the southern building. There is no direct communication between the two buildings, but their entranceways follow the form of other buildings in the township; the entrance to the southern building is located on the eastern wall, and the entrance to the northern building is located in the northern wall, both out of the prevailing winds. Structure 12 appears to show the most complexity within the buildings at Kildavie, with evidence of multiple episodes of re-use and re-modelling.

At least three different internal enclosures are located within the two buildings, with two 'cells' evident in the northern building, and at least two evident in the southern building. The cells appear to be post-abandonment remodelling, likely for housing animals, or possibly to be used as lambing pens. The northern building is a later addition, and interesting in the fact that a separate, new building was not constructed; rather, it was tacked on to an existing one. This is similar to what has been revealed at structure 4 and indicates a possible fluid use of the buildings, with their use and form not necessarily set in stone. The difference with structure 12, when compared to structure 4, however, is that the 'shared wall' is much more simplistic, and would likely have had little effect on the roof of either building. Structure 12 has also revealed the most definitive evidence for occupation and use in the 1700s, with the finding of a marked bottle from 'Tarbert' date stamped 1713.

Excavations at structure 3, located slightly to the south west of structure 4, have revealed a rectangular building, with a large enclosure attached to the west. The building is constructed with much larger and more significant masonry than any of the other buildings so far investigated, and this might suggest a more important building than the others. Internally, however, the excavations show a similar style of features and beaten earth floor, with a likely centrally-placed hearth ringed with stones. What the building does show is a different architectural style, likely indicative of a different period of construction. Mapping evidence shows that this structure was still roofed in 1877 whilst all other structures within the township were unroofed, indicating at the very least a longer or later use-period for this structure. Fraser's estate map of 1790 cannot be wholly relied upon for its accuracy of depicting the locations and sizes of buildings within the Kildavie township, however there is no building depicted attached to the enclosure at the north west of the settlement (i.e. structure 3). This may suggest that the building itself was not built until after Fraser's map was produced, placing the construction of structure 3 between 1790 and 1877.

Excavations at Kildavie have therefore helped to paint a greater picture of the settlement, which was in use until the second half of the 19th century, with the archaeological evidence supporting the historical evidence that Kildavie was principally in use during the 18th and 19th centuries. A general style of construction has been identified, with rough, dry stone masonry, and use of natural bedrock outcrops being a common practice, with only one structure indicating a different architectural style. This suggests a later construction date than the majority of the buildings in the township; however, the style of construction and nature of the floor deposits suggests similar living conditions to the earlier buildings.



Interior of structure 3 showing wall masonry and earthen floor

Kildavie appears to have been a small township with a mixture of domestic and cottage industry buildings that would have supported a small community, reliant on small kitchen gardens and animal husbandry, within the estate of Torloisk House, until the settlement dwindled and contained only one occupied building, with several structures repurposed and likely used for animal husbandry.

Ian Hill, BSc, MSc, is director of Heritage Archaeological Research Practice: www.harparchaeology.co.uk

FURTHER READING

- *Blaeu Atlas Nuvus* (1654)
- 'Plans of Frams of Crossapol, Langamull and Kildavee, Isle of Mull', (c.1790), Fraser, National Archives of Scotland, RHP140930
- 'Kildavie Settlement, Mull: Archaeological Excavations 2014-2016', HARP Technical Report 0016 (2016), I. Hill
- 'Kildavie Settlement, Mull: Archaeological Excavations 2017-2018', Data Structure Report, HARP Technical Report 0020 (2018), K Manchip
- *Scottish Place Names* (London, 1986), W.F.H. Nicolaisen
- *'Origines parochiales Scotiae: the antiquities ecclesiastical and territorial of the parishes of Scotland'*, (Edinburgh, 1854), OPS
- Ordnance Survey 1st Edition, 6 inch to the mile, sheet L1 (Argyllshire, 1882)

TULLOCH STONE FIND *bridges 'crucial gap in knowledge'* of the country's undocumented history

Archaeologists have recently recreated images of a figure on a Pictish stone, with the details uncovered offering new insights into Scotland's warrior past

During ground clearance work close to Perth's McDiarmid park, a monolith close to two metres high was found, depicting a male figure carrying a spear. Though the outline of the man could be seen, the carving was faint in places and the surface of the stone had partly delaminated.

Archaeologists from the University of Aberdeen have taken thousands of photographs to create 3D images, clarifying the design and allowing them to compare that design to those found on other stones.

Professor Gordon Noble, head of archaeology at Aberdeen, and Dr Mark Hall, archaeological curator at Perth museum, say the stone – known as the Tulloch stone – is a 'significant find' which adds to the corpus of material available for study.

In a paper published in *Antiquity*, the research team argues that similarities observed between the Tulloch stone, named after where it was discovered, and those found at Rhynie in Aberdeenshire and Newton of Collessie in Fife, are 'filling the gaps' of Scotland's undocumented history.

Professor Noble said: 'By looking at the three stones together, we have been able to draw new conclusions about what these figures represent. On the Tulloch stone we can now see that the man is carrying a distinctive door-knob butted spear which we know from previous research was in use from the 3rd to the 6th century.

'He also has a very distinctive hairstyle, is wearing a helmet and necklace and has a faint line around the left ankle which could suggest footwear or tight leggings. In line with the other stones, this is clearly a depiction of a warrior. Its find spot overlooks the coming together of the rivers Tay and Almond, a junction marked by a Roman fort and later a possible Pictish royal centre, suggesting the monolith might have been located in a cemetery of the elite.

'Because the presentation of the figures is standardised across all of the stones, it is likely that it represents a generic sacred image, rather than it being a depiction of someone buried there'.

Dr Hall says this also points to a warlord or warrior ethos which has been well documented in Anglo Saxon England, but for which little evidence has previously been seen in Scotland: 'In Anglo-Saxon England we have lots of examples of burials with weaponry and the poem *Beowulf* epitomises the warrior ethos of this period.

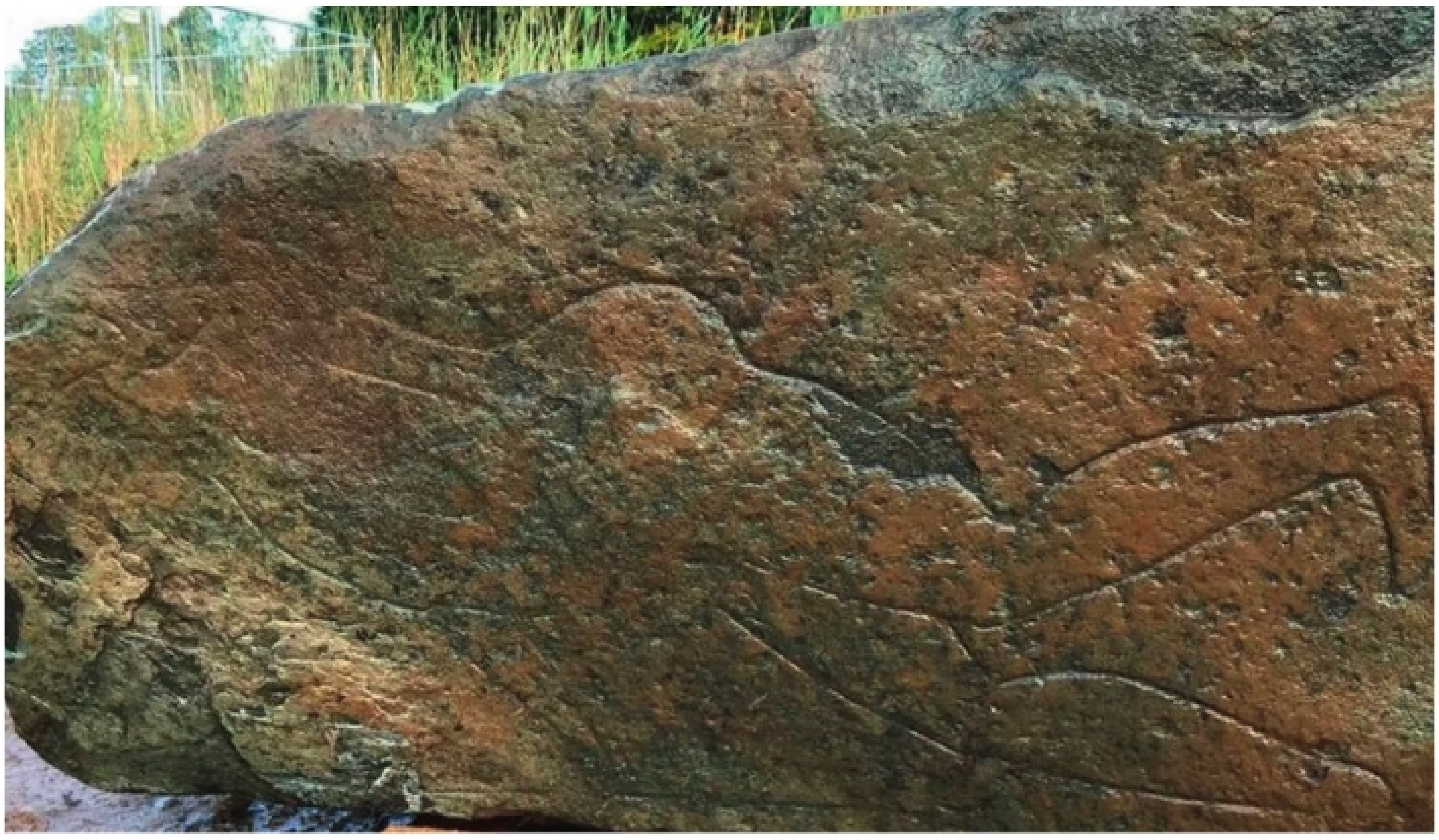
'This has not been evidenced in Scotland in the same way but here through the new Tulloch find and a reconsideration of long-known stones we can see that warrior ideology cast in stone – meaning these martial values were conveyed in a very public way to be visible in the landscape and to invoke supernatural protection'.

Professor Noble added: 'This bridges a crucial gap in knowledge as although we know that warrior ideology is important for rulership, we haven't previously been able to demonstrate how that evolves through time in the period before the 6th and 7th centuries when we begin to get historical records for Scotland.

'We believe that the weapon-bearing individuals shown on these stones may represent a war-oriented social organisation that was integral to resisting the Roman empire and to creating the overtly hierarchical societies of the post-Roman period'.

The Tulloch stone was discovered during construction work for the A9/A85 scheme, part of the Perth Transport Futures Project, and is now undergoing further research and conservation prior to going on display in a new museum being developed for Perth, set to open in 2022.

Read the full paper at: https://scot.sh/britannia



Detail from the Tulloch stone, showing the 'Tulloch walker'

TALES FROM THE RING: CELEBRATING SCOTLAND'S BOXING HERITAGE

Karl Magee showcases a project to create an archive of the sporting stars of the Scottish boxing community, shining a light on a hitherto little-studied aspect of the country's sporting heritage

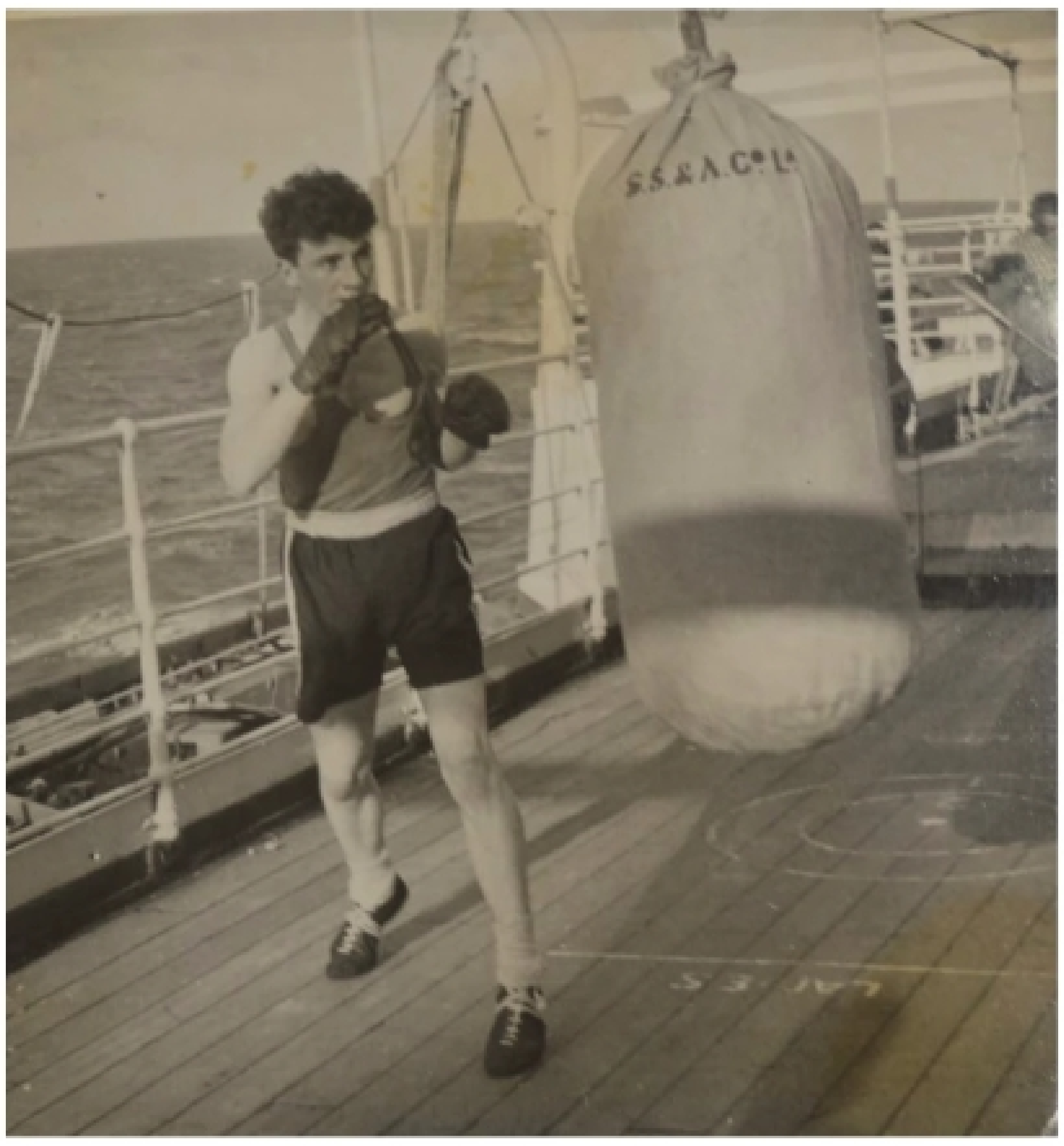
The University of Stirling Archives holds one of the largest sporting heritage collections in Scotland. At its core is the Commonwealth Games Scotland Archive, which documents the participation and achievements of Team Scotland at the Commonwealth Games, from the first competition in Hamilton, Canada, in 1930, to the 2018 Gold Coast Games. The collection includes a detailed record of the competitions hosted by Scotland (Edinburgh 1970 and 1986 and Glasgow 2014). The experiences of the Scottish team at other Games held across the Commonwealth are preserved in the wide range of personal papers and sporting memorabilia that form part of the collection.

Boxing is one of the core Commonwealth sports, having featured in every Games. Scotland has won at least one boxing medal at every event, the only sport to have this record. This achievement is all the more impressive when the trials and tribulations of the athletes who represented Scotland at the Games are considered, particularly those who competed in the early years of the competition.

Our Commonwealth Games collections include a fascinating photograph album recording the journey of the Scottish team to the 1950 Games held in Auckland, New Zealand. The album was created by Sir Peter Heatly, who travelled as part of the diving team, winning a gold medal in Auckland (Peter went on to win gold at three successive Games, the only Scot to achieve this remarkable record).

The team travelled on board the SS *Tamora* with the other British teams, the ship leaving Southampton on 16 December 1949. The journey took over a month, travelling west across the Atlantic, through the Panama Canal, and onwards across the Pacific (the Games took place from 4 to 11 February 1950). Training facilities on board were basic, with limited opportunities for exercise. The album includes many photographs which show how the team passed the time on board, including an image of the boxer Hugh Riley training on deck. Riley was one of two Scottish boxers to win gold in Auckland, defeating K. Edwin of Celyon (Sri Lanka) in the final of the flyweight competition. The official record of Riley's title-winning bout recorded in *The Story of the British Empire Games, Auckland 1950*, shows that the various obstacles faced during the long drawn-out journey did not affect his performance in the ring:

> *Scotland provided a most worthy title-winner in fly-weight Hugh Riley. He showed outstanding ringcraft and skill, allied with some excellent right-hand punching. In the final he showed excellent footwork and timing, slipping inside punches and counter-punching effectively – almost too fast for the eye to follow.*



Hugh Riley training on board SS *Tamora* en route to the 1950 Commonwealth Games, (Sir Peter Heatly Archive, University of Stirling)

SPORTING MEMORIES
The RING
The RING

Guests at the opening of the *Tales from the Ring* exhibition, University of Stirling Library

Bringing boxers together

While Commonwealth sport is at the core of our collections at Stirling, we are committed to expanding our wider sporting heritage holdings, focusing on the constituent sports of Commonwealth Games Scotland. We are currently working closely with the Scottish Ex-Boxers Association to collect and preserve the history and heritage of boxing in Scotland.

Founded in 1974, the Association supports the promotion of Scottish boxing past and present. With its motto of 'Making friends of former foes', it brings together ex-boxers, coaches and fans to share memories of the sport and create new friendships among the boxing community. The Association welcomes new members to join its regular meetings held at Hutchinson's bowling club in the Gorbals, Glasgow, and is keen to support and celebrate boxing at all levels across Scotland.

In October 2019 the University archives began a four-month project funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund to create an archive of the sporting stars and unsung heroes of the Scottish boxing community.

Tales from the Ring: celebrating Scotland's boxing heritage created an exhibition of boxing memorabilia which was displayed in the University of Stirling library from 19 January to 26 March this year. This display celebrated Scottish boxing's proud history and heritage, with a new website being simultaneously launched to document the sporting lives of those ex-boxers featured in the exhibition: https://boxing.stir.ac.uk. The project is the first step in establishing an archive of Scottish boxing at the University of Stirling.

Guests examine gold medal won by Dick McTaggart at the 1956 Olympic Games

This new collection will help safeguard a hitherto-ignored aspect of Scottish sporting heritage and will complement the unrivalled sporting heritage collections held by the university archives.

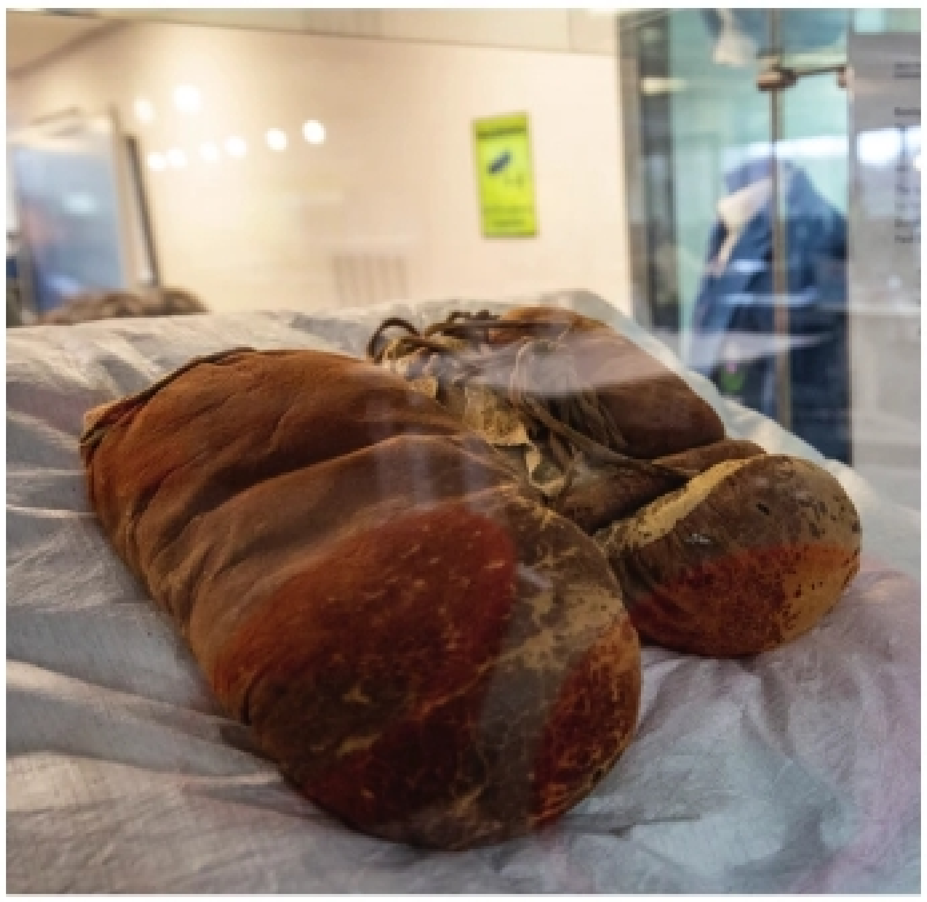
The exhibition brought together a range of boxing memorabilia from over a century of competition. The oldest items displayed were a pair of boxing gloves worn by Hugh Roddin at the 1908 London Olympic Games.

Forgotten champions

In his 1988 book *The Fight Game in Scotland*, boxing historian Brian Donald told the story of Hugh Roddin's career. Born in Musselburgh, in 1886, Roddin was the first Scot to win an Olympic boxing medal, taking the bronze in London in 1908. As Brian Donald commented when interviewed for the project: 'Roddin is one of the many forgotten Scottish champions because he emigrated to the United States where he pursued a professional career'. Donald noted that many boxing heroes had fallen out of the limelight: 'I wrote my book because no one had written about the history of Scottish boxing. So many of our boxers have been forgotten, I saw it as an opportunity to address that'.

When members of Roddin's American family came across Brian's book, which re-told Hugh's story for a modern audience, they were delighted and as a result, presented Brian with the gloves that Hugh had worn in London in 1908. These incredibly fragile relics of sporting competition were on display at the National Museum of Scotland for a time and were kindly loaned to us for the exhibition at Stirling.

The most recent item included in the exhibition is a signed boxing vest from the 2018 Women's World Championships, held in Delhi, India. The vest was worn by Stephanie Kernachan, the first Scottish boxer to take part in the competition and is signed by Stephanie and fellow



Left: Project officer Ian Mackintosh with gloves worn by Hugh Roddin at the 1908 Olympic Games

Above: Boxing gloves worn by Hugh Roddin at the 1908 Olympic Games members of the Scottish team.

A key feature of the project is that the exhibition was curated in collaboration with the Scottish Ex-Boxers Association, with many of the objects being chosen by the ex-boxers themselves. Our project officer met with many of these sportspeople, interviewing them about their careers and working with them to select the exhibits. The practicalities of equipping yourself for the ring and the joy of receiving new kit is a key theme that runs through many of the items selected for the exhibition.

Boxer David Mooney kept the vest he wore representing Scotland versus England in January 1952 as a souvenir of his international debut. As befits an item of such personal significance, David kept the vest in remarkably good condition, the bright blue top providing an eye-catching element of our display. When interviewed for the project, David explained the absence of a full kit to accompany the vest:

I was always very proud to represent Scotland, but at times we were let down by the Scottish officials. When we went to this international the English team were dressed in matching white gowns, vests, shorts and socks. In contrast the Scottish team were only given a vest (which we got to keep) and the loan of a tartan boxing gown (they were old and smelly). We had to supply our own shorts (we wore our club shorts), socks and boots. We looked like we were wearing rags compared to the English team.

THE SPORTING MEMORIES FOUNDATION SCOTLAND
TACKLING DEMENTIA, DEPRESSION AND LONELINESS THROUGH THE POWER OF SPORT
FRIENDLY, WEEKLY, INCLUSIVE GROUPS
ACTIVITIES FOR CARERS
INTERGENERATIONAL EVENTS
TALES FROM THE RING
Celebrating
Scotland's Heritage

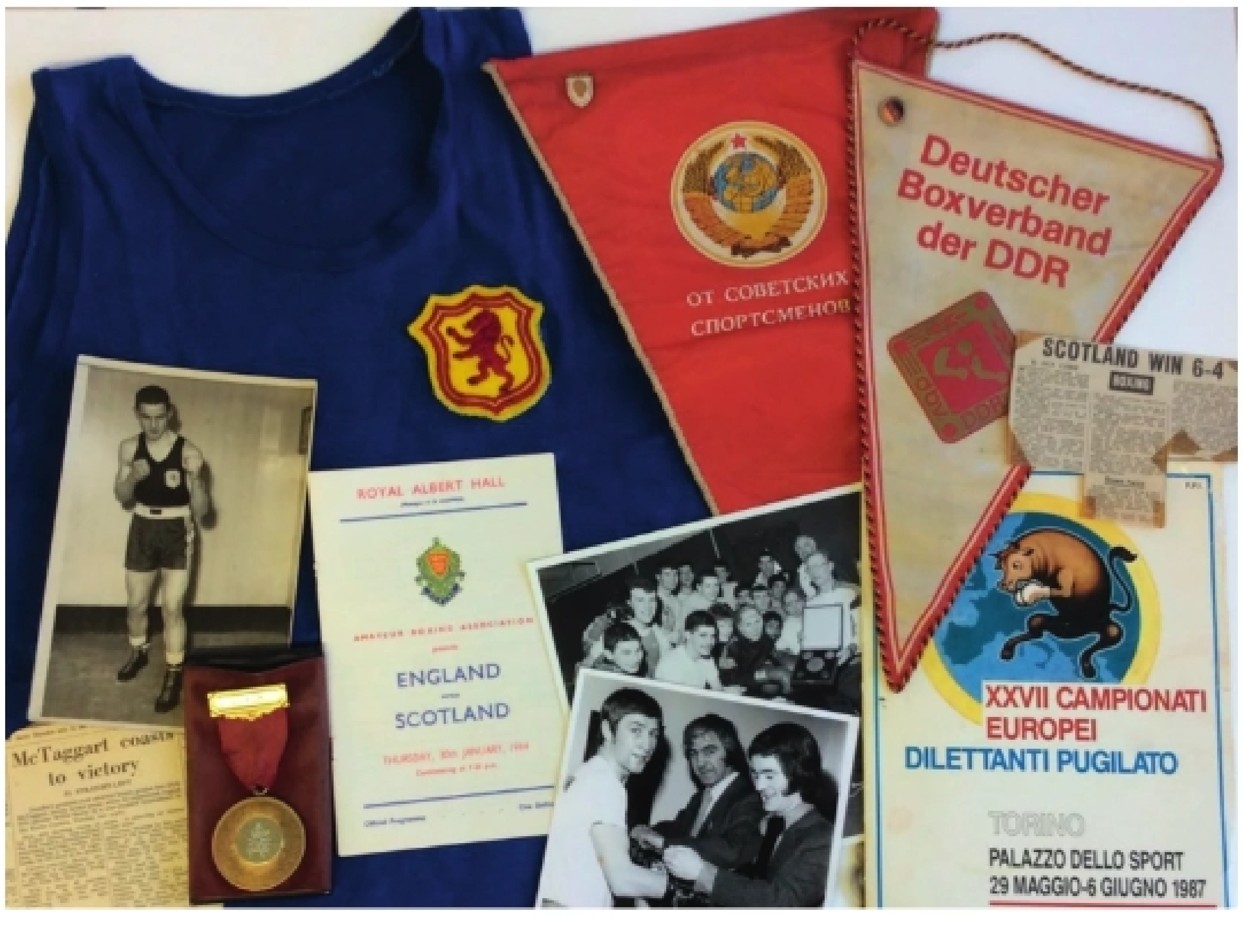
Project Officer Ian Mackintosh (right) with former boxer and journalist Frank Gilfeather

A boxer's boots were an essential part of his kit and the exhibition featured two pairs. A pair of white leather boots worn by Dick McTaggart were displayed alongside the boxing robe presented to him by his local club in Dundee to commemorate his achievements at the Olympic Games.

Dick McTaggart MBE is one of Scotland's greatest ever boxers. His record of 634 bouts with 610 wins and 24 losses is unlikely to ever be surpassed. He won gold medals at the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, 1958 Commonwealth Games and 1961 European Championships and also won a bronze at the 1960 Rome Olympic Games and silver at the 1962 Commonwealth Games.

The white leather boxing boots were worn by Dick at the 1960 Olympic Games. He continued to wear them at all competitions until his retirement in 1965. They hold a special place in his memories as he noted when interviewed for the project:

My club Dundee A.B.C. presented me with these items following my Olympic success. I was very proud to wear these items whenever I was boxing. I was the first British boxer to wear white boxing boots. I was a trend setter.


Deutscher Boxverband der DDR
ОТ СОВЕТСКИХ СПОРТСМЕНОВ
SCOTLAND WIN 6-4
ROYAL ALBERT HALL
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
McTaggart coasts to victory
XXVII CAMPIONATI EUROPEI DILETTANTI PUGILATO
TORINO
PALAZZO DELLO SPORT
29 MAGGIO-6 GIUGNO 1987

A selection of material collected during the Tales from the Ring project

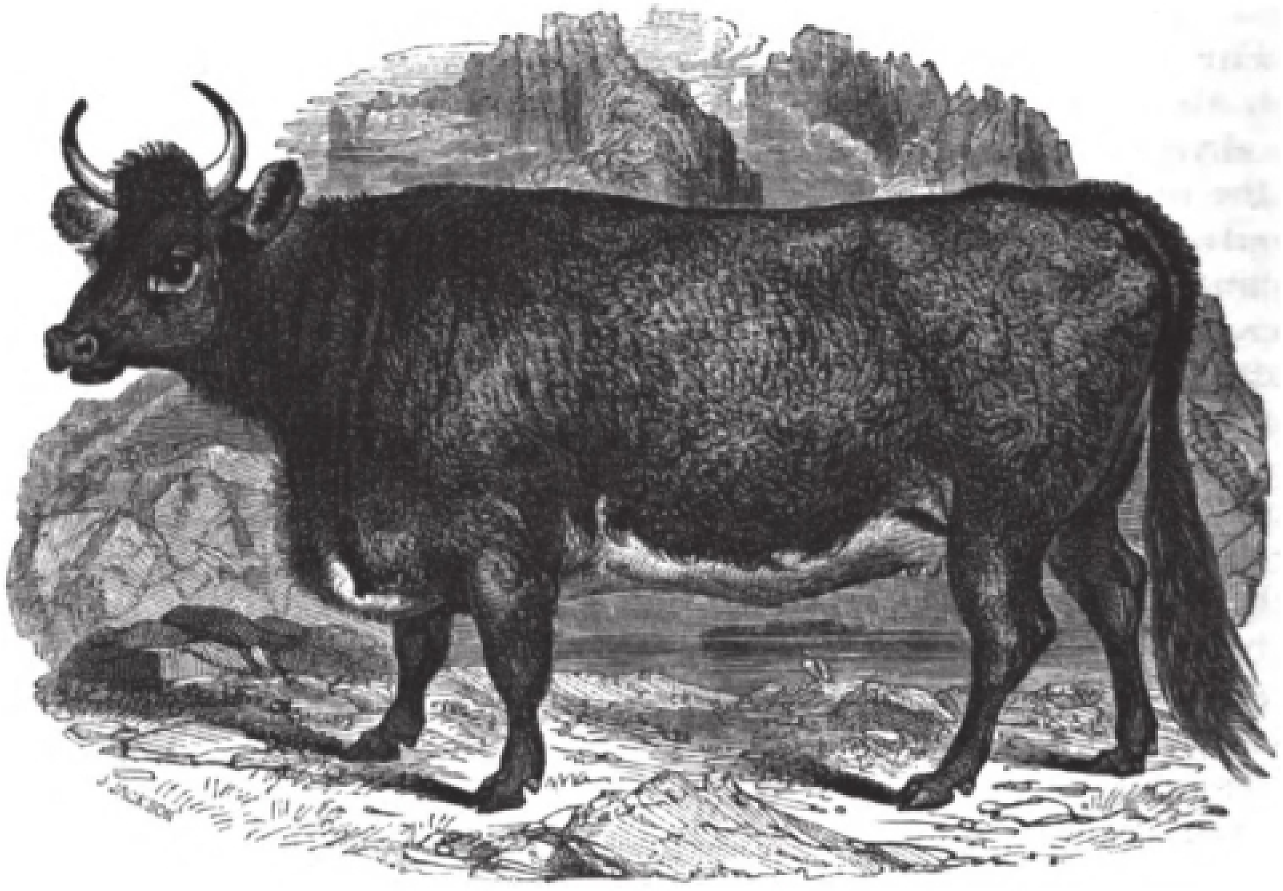
The exhibition also featured a pair of black leather boots from the 1960s which Walter 'Wattie' Douglas wore when he represented Scotland in a match against Northern Ireland in 1971. Reflecting on the importance of the boots, Walter recalled:

My dad bought me these boots when I was young, they must have cost him a packet. They were my pride and joy, they were never off my feet. I wore these boots whenever I could. Prior to getting these boots, I had always worn sandshoes, so to get a pair of boxing boots I was over the moon.

Reflecting on his experiences curating the exhibition our project officer Ian Mackintosh recalled: 'the exhibition opening was a great opportunity to reunite former Scotland teammates, the audience was a "who's who" of Scottish boxing – meeting these guys was a great privilege. How often do you get to interview Olympic, Commonwealth and World champions as part of your work?'

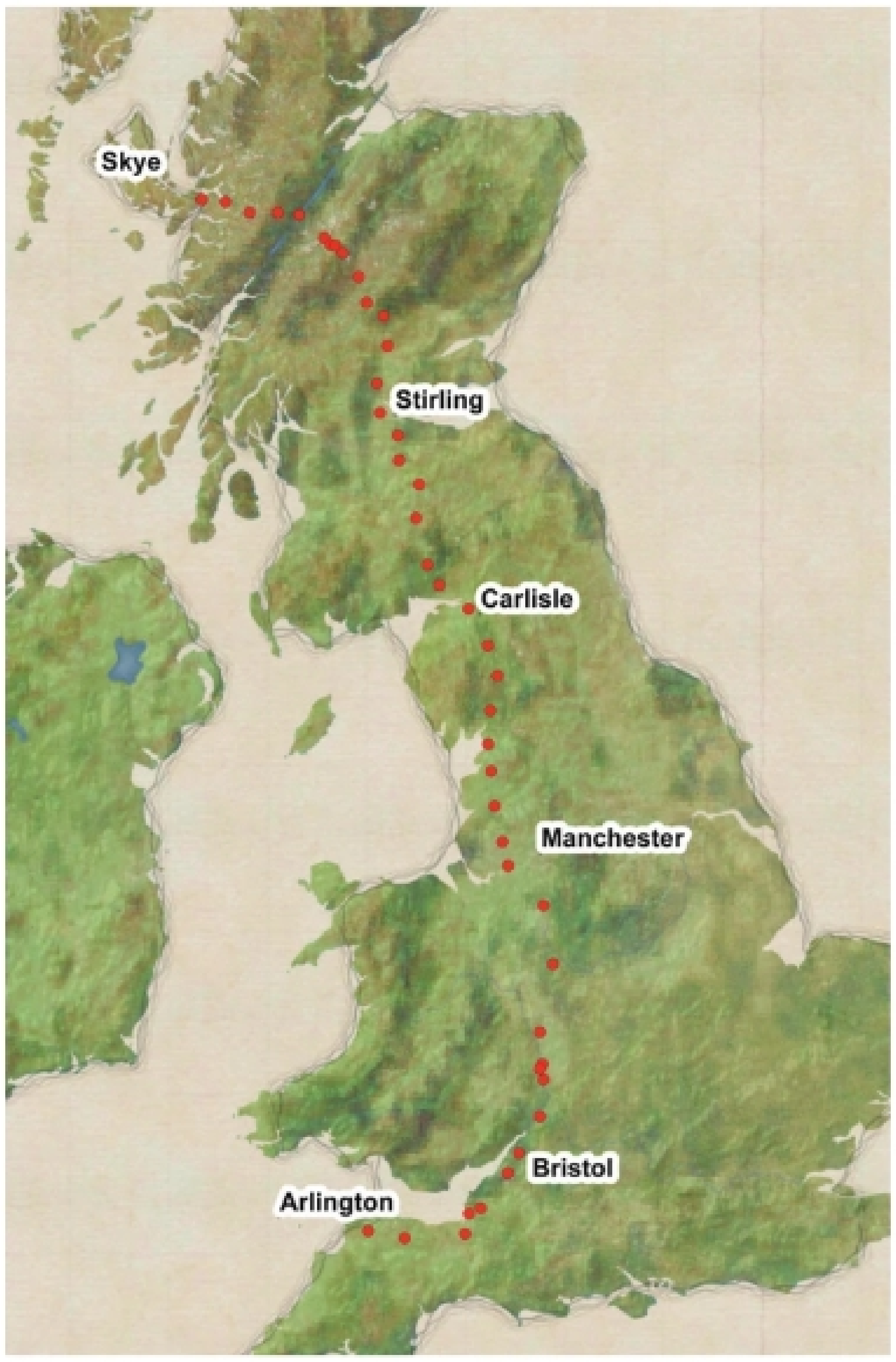
If you are interested in supporting the project, or have any material you would like to add to the archive please e-mail: archives@stir.ac.uk

Karl Magee is a University Archivist at the University of Stirling.



Highland cow from *Cattle: Their Breeds, Management and Diseases by William Youatt* (London, 1834)

DEVON, DROVES AND JACOBITES



The 650-mile route taken by John McInnes, his two assistants and the 90 cattle, from Skye to Arlington in Devon

Dr David Taylor reconstructs an epic, 650-mile cattle drove from Skye to Devon, completed in the spring of 1811, and finds behind this quixotic undertaking a fascinating insight into the rehabilitation of Jacobite families in the decades after Culloden

In May 1811, John McInnes and two assistants headed south from Skye with a drove of 90 cattle. There was, of course, nothing unusual about this, and with the Napoleonic Wars in full swing, cattle prices were at a premium. But this drove was different, destined not for the great Scottish tryst at Falkirk, nor the fattening fields of Norfolk, nor even the butchers' knives at Smithfield. McInnes was instead embarking upon on an arduous 43-day trek, covering some 650 miles, to the remote south-west of England. The final destination: Arlington estate in Devon.

This was clearly no speculative venture. Someone in Devon wanted a herd of highland cattle and employed McInnes to deliver the beasts personally. But why? Agricultural improvement, not least regarding livestock, was in full swing, and with England pioneering many of the larger improved breeds, it seems unlikely that the small highland cattle of that time would be a desirable addition to the southern gene pool.

The families

The origins of this extraordinary drove may in fact stretch back many decades into more troubled Jacobite times. The Chichesters were among the most substantial Devonshire landowners. A catholic family, they had flirted with Jacobitism around the time of the 1715 rising, and though not actively involved in later years, underlying sympathies may have remained. John Chichester, who had inherited Arlington estate in the 1720s, had lost his first wife in 1763 and was seeking a new bride, both to help with the estate and provide an heir – though finding a suitable partner from the dwindling ranks of catholic gentry in England was perhaps proving difficult.

600 miles to the north, near Spean Bridge in Lochaber, lived Donald Macdonald, tacksman of Terndriech (aka Tynedrish/Tirnadrish/Tirindrish). One of the leading clan gentry of the Keppoch Macdonalds or Macdonells (the two forms then being interchangeable), he also was a catholic, though a much more ardent Jacobite than the Chichesters had ever been. Indeed, Macdonald of Terndriech reputedly fired the first shots of the 1745 rising at the skirmish of Highbridge, becoming a popular and respected officer in Prince Charles Edward's army on the long march south and subsequent retreat back north. Captured after the battle of Falkirk in 1746, he was imprisoned at Carlisle and sentenced to be hung, drawn and quartered – a brutal sentence carried out to the letter in October of that year. In a further display of government barbarity, his severed head was displayed on the Scotch Gate in Carlisle.

Like so many others after Culloden, Macdonald's young children fled with their stepmother, Mary Macdonald, into the hills of Lochaber as the redcoats pillaged their way through the region, burning the family home at Terndriech to the ground. His son, Ranald, aged seven, was one of those fugitives, and just three years later recorded his own account of their time on the run:

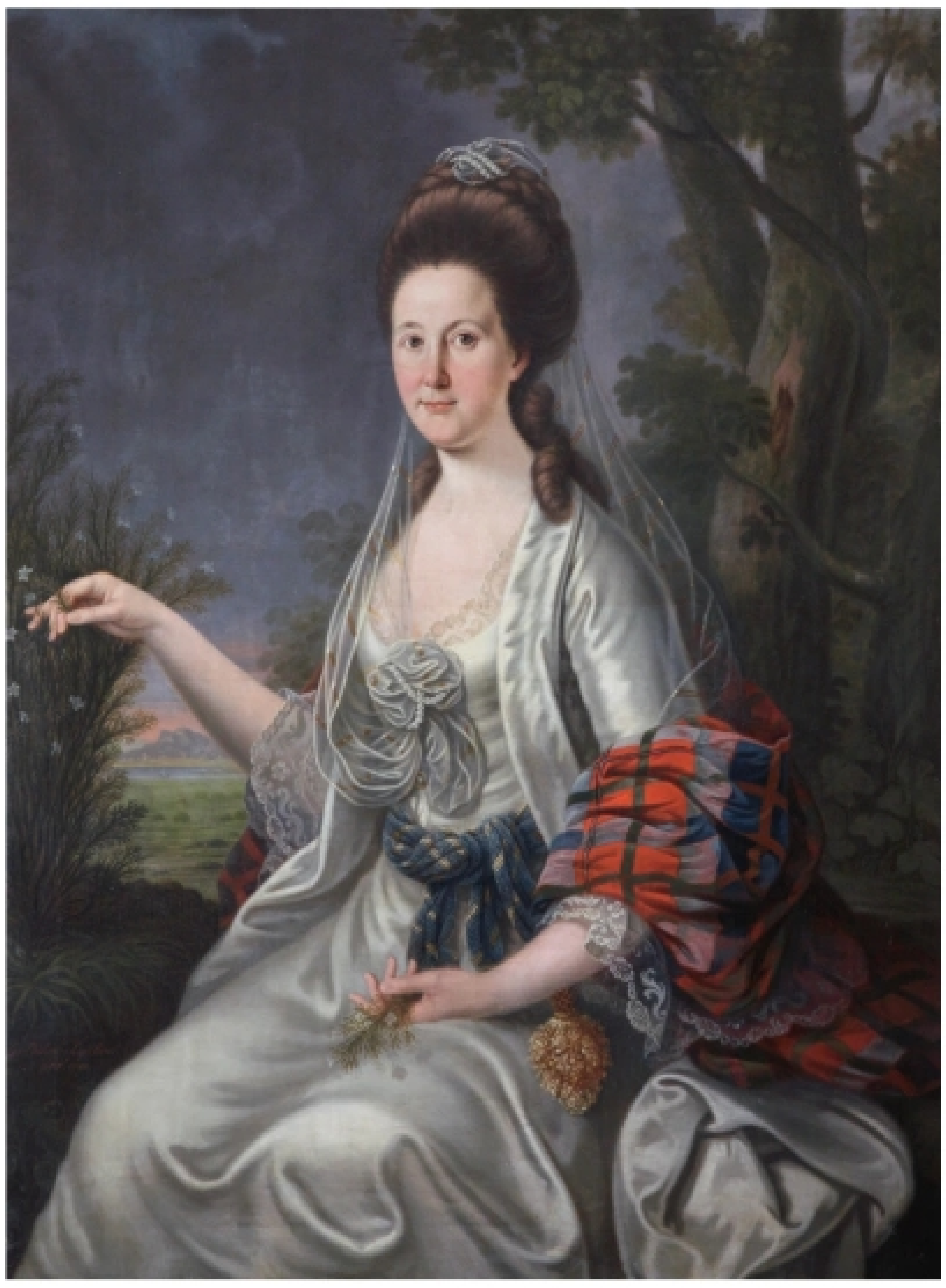
> *The cruelty of the soldiers made us fly from our houses; and the first night*

> *we went and drove all our cows and sheep about two miles from the house, and carried all our provisions upon the horses, our bed-clothes, and all the other goods in the house, to the place where we took our night's lodging, and pulled ling to make a fire and beds. [Later, they] went with the cows, sheep, and goats, and drove them to Ranach through woods and over mountains on foot; and we used to lie on the tops of the mountains... and sometimes we walked all night when we heard the soldiers were near us... We made little houses where we put our milk and curds, for we made cheese when we were not travelling.*

Though far from home, Mary Chichester remained true to her Jacobite roots, and a portrait in Arlington Court shows her wearing tartan during the period of proscription

Sharing the same fate were his sisters, Isabella, Mary and Catherine, and half-sisters Sarah and Julia. The impact on the young Terndriech children of those weeks on the run, the destruction of their home and, not least, the news of their father's brutal execution, is unimaginable.

Of those children, it is the young Mary Macdonald who becomes the focus of this story. Now an orphan, she was lucky enough to be 'adopted' by Lady Dundonald (née Catherine Hamilton), the dowager countess whose husband, the sixth earl, had died in 1737. Herein lay another Jacobite link, for Lady Dundonald's brother, Lord Basil Hamilton, had been one of the Jacobite officers in 1715. As she was also distantly related to Mary's mother (a Mackenzie), there was perhaps a double bond linking the young highland girl and her mentor. Mary was brought up as one of the dowager countess's own daughters; intelligent, sophisticated, charming and at ease with the conventions of genteel society – though never losing sight of her highland and Jacobite roots.



Mary Macdonald,
Mrs John Chichester
(1738-1815)

Whether through some informal catholic or society network, or simply the match-making skills of Lady Dundonald, Mary and the recently-widowed John Chichester became acquainted, and though he was 31 years her senior, they married in 1764 – a fortuitous match for both. Mary Chichester appears to have enjoyed considerable influence within the estate, not least in financial matters: John certainly had substantial investments in Scotland, and was lending capital to a number of prominent families including Macdonald of Keppoch, one of his wife's relatives. Apart from mothering five children, she appears to have been much loved and respected by all in her new home, largely for her 'benevolent goodness' and 'artless suavity of manner', though her colourful history no doubt played its part. When her husband died in 1783 he left the entire estate, house, farm, orchards and livestock to her until their eldest son, John Palmer Chichester (later Colonel John), came of age in 1790, at which point Mary retired to Bath, living off generous annuities until her death in 1815.

Mary's home Arlington Court, the desination of the drove

Jacobite sympathies

Though far from home, Mary Chichester remained true to her Jacobite roots, and a portrait in Arlington Court (reproduced above) shows her wearing tartan during the period of proscription, while a plantation of Scots pines (a symbol of Jacobite sympathies in England) may indicate another quiet gesture of defiance. Indeed, her cousin, Dr Angus Macdonald, tells of how Mary's entire family 'still smarted' from the devastation inflicted after the '45, though he intriguingly suggests that while ‘she could not repair the desolation occasioned by the late conflict in her native country’, she used her newfound wealth in ‘silent acts of benevolence’ to assist many of those old Jacobite families.

Among those beneficiaries was Mary’s stepmother, the other Mary Macdonald who had looked after all the young Terndriech children during the traumatic post-Culloden months. She had subsequently married Alexander Macdonald of Aberchalder in Glengarry, one of the principal leaders of the great 1773 emigration that culminated in the establishment of the new community of Glengarry in Ontario. The Arlington connection was interestingly corroborated by Captain John Markham, a British naval officer in Canada, who relates that while travelling through Ontario in 1792 he was given accommodation by a young Macdonald with the unlikely name, Chichester. He was a son of Alexander and Mary Macdonald of Aberchalder, and he explained to Markham how his family and many others had been ‘furnished with the means of emigrating, by that warm-hearted Devonshire squire, Mr. Chichester of Arlington Court’, no doubt at Mary Chichester’s instigation. As two of the Aberchalder sons were elected to Upper Canada’s first parliament, one of them becoming its first speaker, it would seem that Mary’s Jacobite sympathies may have played a small part in that country’s early development.

Another of the Terndriech family to benefit was Mary’s half-sister Sarah and her husband Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch (son of the chief who died at Culloden). They also emigrated to Canada, settling in Prince Edward Island in 1803, and also, significantly, had a son called Chichester who went on to become chief of the Keppoch Macdonalds.

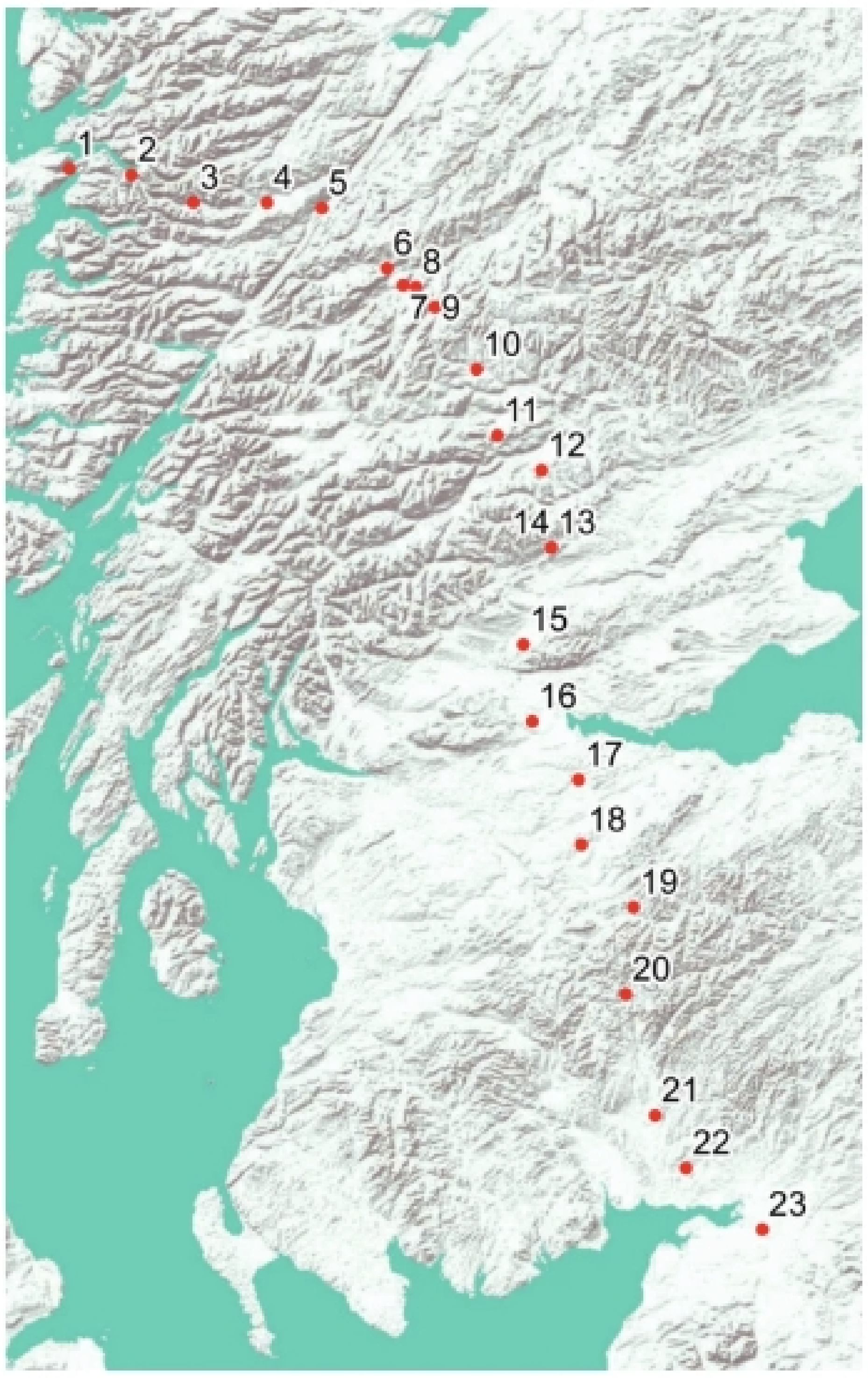
These family connections are largely derived from the writings of Mary Chichester’s cousin, the aforementioned Dr Angus Macdonald, originally one of the Gellovie (now Gallovie) Macdonalds from Badenoch, another catholic Jacobite family. Angus had studied medicine in Edinburgh, eventually becoming the doctor at Taunton in Somerset, just 50 miles from Mary’s new home at Arlington Court. By chance, his older brother, Thomas, also a doctor in Edinburgh, had married Mary’s younger sister, Catherine Macdonald of Terndriech, but had died young leaving an infant daughter, Mary – named after her Chichester aunt. Keen to ensure that his young niece understood her highland heritage, Dr Angus wrote a fascinating memoir of her family history from early times right up to 1820.

Arlington and cattle

It is Angus Macdonald’s memoir that provides the crucial link between Arlington and the Skye cattle. On taking over from his mother in 1790, John Palmer Chichester had embarked on the fashionable ‘improvement’ of the estate. Perhaps to free the family and estate from any remaining anti-catholic restrictions, he renounced his faith in 1793 – though it may equally have been to facilitate his marriage that year to Agnes Hamilton of Bangour, a Scottish

The Scottish leg of the journey

	Date	Stance	Appr. miles	Cost
1	May 23	Kylerea		£2 16s 6d
2	24	Shealhouse (Shiel Bridge)	10	9s 6d
3	25	Cluanie	14	9s 6d
4	26	Oinach (Glen Moriston)	12	11s 6d
5	27	Fort Augustus	11	13s 6d
6	28	Garvamore	18	1s
7	29	Strathchrigour (Feagour?)	5	5s 6d
8	30	Strathmashie	2	10s 6d
9	31	Dalchunie (Dalwhinnie)	3	9s 6d
10	June 1	Dalnartich (Trinafour rd/ R Garry)	15	9s 6d
11	2	Warbridge (Whitebridge Inn?)	17	9s 6d
12	3	Gate House	16	12s
13	4	Fulford (Foulford Inn)	16	12s
14	5	“ “	—	12s
15	6	Lairhills	18	£1 2s 6d
16	7	Torwite (Torwood)	13	£1 8s 6d
17	8	Oldmuir (Balmuir?)	13	9s 6d
18	9	Wilsonton	10	18s 6d
19	10	Skirling	16	£1 2s 6d
20	11	Tweed of Brefit (Braefoot of Tweedsmuir)	15	18s
21	12	Dumcrieff	13	£1 10s
22	13	Echilfachil (Ecclefechan)	21	£2 10s 6d
23	14	Kings Mure (Kingmoor, Carlisle)	6 to Border	£2 10s
	Total	Scotland	270	£22 5s 10d



protestant. Whatever the reason, Dr Angus, who knew John well, described him as 'a great improver of Highland cattle, having generally some hundreds of that profitable stock of animals in his park, which run in common with the deer' – hence the drove of 1811.

Unfortunately, Angus did not explain why. Highland cattle at that time were not the fine pedigrees of today, but small black beasts (like the one shown on page 16) only about one-half the size of a modern cow. Though extremely hardy, and ideal for the rough moorland and hill grazings of the highlands, they were hardly comparable in size or value to the new, heavier breeds favoured by the majority of improvers. Why spend time and money bringing cattle all the way from Skye rather than experimenting with the native North Devons, already gaining an excellent reputation amongst English breeders, or even Welsh blacks from his Cardiganshire estate?

Perhaps the young laird recognised that highland cattle, though small, were not without their attributes. In a perceptive analysis of British breeds in the early 1830s, William Youatt praised their hardiness, especially their ability to 'thrive on the coarsest pastures' – and considering Arlington lay on the western edge of Exmoor, a wild, exposed area of poor moorland vegetation, this alone could have been an attraction, either as a pure breed or for improving the hardiness of local beasts. But John Palmer appears to have been running the cattle on his parks, and Youatt indicated another relevant attribute – the propensity of west highland cattle, particularly those from Skye, for dramatic weight gain on good pasture: 'when removed to better provender, [they] will thrive with a rapidity almost incredible'. Moreover, Skye beef was 'fine in the grain, highly flavoured, and so well mixed or marbled, that it commands a superior price in every market'. There were indeed good commercial reasons for John Palmer's enthusiasm for the breed.

Aerial view of the Pass of Drumochter from the Boar of Badenoch, part of the journey on day nine

Land improvement may have been another factor. Through his inside knowledge of the highlands, John Palmer might have been aware of how cattle could dramatically improve the quality of heather moorland, as evidenced in the green oases surrounding the shieling sites. They could likewise improve the habitat for game, the shooting of which was becoming a lucrative pastime: in 1811, the same year as this drove, parliament had introduced an 'Act for better preservation of heath fowl, commonly called black game, in Somerset and Devon'. With both Exmoor and Dartmoor situated in Devon, moorland improvement schemes were not outwith the bounds of possibility.

It may, of course, be that highland blood played its part in the young John Palmer's interest in Skye cattle: in a society where families were still largely defined through lineage, being grandson of Major Donald Macdonald of Terndriech, highland gentleman and Jacobite martyr, would have bestowed immediate recognition and respect, while on Skye itself one of the biggest landowners was a clan namesake, Lord Macdonald. His mother's passion for things highland, stories of her early years, the tragic fate of his grandfather, the Jacobite heritage, and the growing cult of Ossianic romanticism must all have impinged on an impressionable young mind. Nor was his mother the only such influence, for there was a small Jacobite enclave in the south-west comprising Mary herself, her older sister Isabella who lived with them in Arlington for most of John's formative years, family historian Dr Angus in Taunton, and Sir James Kinloch, an exiled Jacobite from the '45 who was living in Barnstaple just ten miles away.

It is possible not just to trace the entire route, but to calculate exact costs and approximate daily mileages

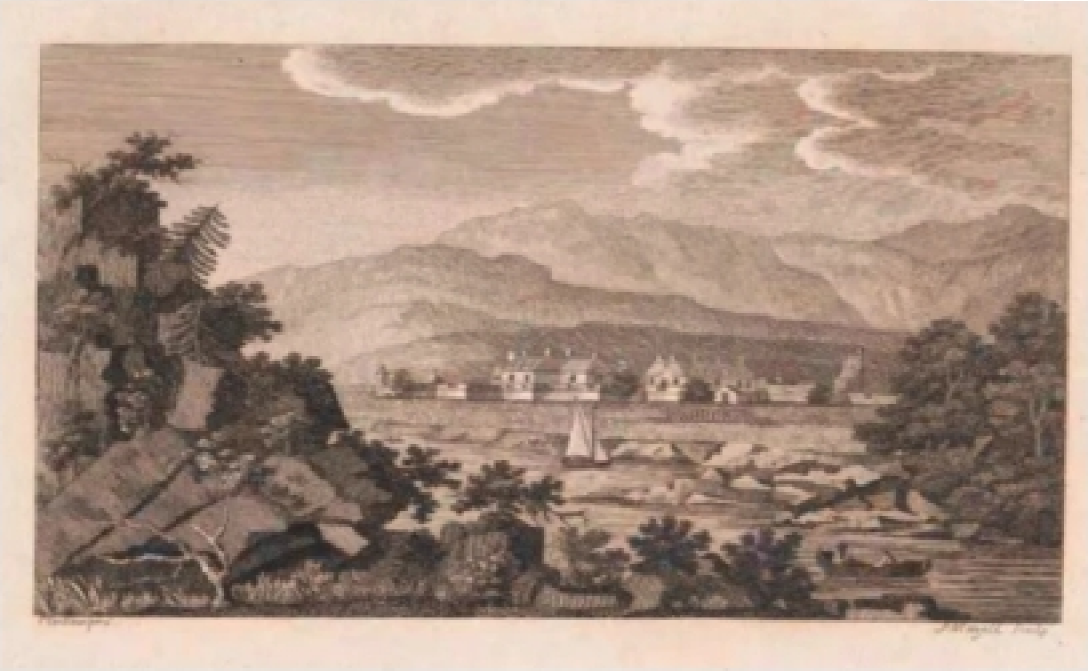
Were highland cattle just a sentimental indulgence of the young laird's 'romantic' heritage? His improvement schemes were undoubtedly coloured by his own romantic aspirations: he was an enthusiast of the 'picturesque' in landscape design – creating wooded parks, designing a water feature to be 'a pleasing object', highlighting natural beauty as in the area called the 'Wilderness'. What better way to enhance the aesthetics of wildness than by allowing highland cattle to run free as they did on the Scottish hillsides – and if they had commercial potential, so much the better.

The drove

Though the precise reasons for Chichester's interest in highland cattle remain unclear, the schedule of expenses for the 1811 drove is most certainly not, with every day of the entire journey recorded with all costs incurred. Thus it is possible not just to trace the entire route, but to calculate exact costs and approximate daily mileages (approximate because the precise location of some of the overnight stances cannot be determined, while drovers had their own preferred routes and shortcuts between those stances).

How far the cattle had already travelled in Skye is not recorded, but on 23 May 1811 the drove crossed to the mainland at Kylerhea, noted by Thomas Telford that very year to be 'the usual ferry for the Black Cattle of Skye', even having its own unique cattle slipway for the 6,000 or more that made the crossing annually. The expenses schedule for 'Ferryage', probably

The lowlands brought the first encounter with turnpike roads and tolls, which, though enabling faster progress, increased the daily costs



The old fort at Fort Augustus, just before the toughest section of the whole route, on day fifteen

using a wide-beamed boat taking about 20 at a time, amounted to £2 16s 6d, the single most expensive payment of the entire journey.

Following the military road through Glenelg, they climbed the steep pass of Mam Rattagan, before descending to Shielhouse Inn, a distance of ten miles; then daily journeys of fourteen miles to Cluanie Inn (the modern A87), twelve to Uanach Inn in Glen Moriston (A87, A887), and another eleven on the old drove route from Glen Moriston across the hill to Fort Augustus. Almost certainly they would have been using Telford's new highland road from Shielhouse to Glen Moriston, just completed a month before McInnes set off, and deliberately engineered with a loose gravel rather than a metalled surface to suit the cattle which Telford believed would be the principal users.

Leaving Fort Augustus on 27 May, the drove faced the toughest day of the whole journey: eighteen miles across the much rougher General Wade road over the Corrieyairrack Pass, climbing to 2,500 feet before descending a steep series of hairpins to Garvamore Inn. The next three days, all using long-established Badenoch drove roads, were easy – five miles round Loch Crunachan to Feagour, two miles to the Strathmashie shielings, and then three to the inn at Dalwhinnie, giving the beasts plenty of time to recover before the next mountain pass over Drumochter.

From Dalwhinnie the drovers faced a fifteen-mile day, though after the short climb to Drumochter summit (A9) it was downhill all the way to Dalnartich, a small stance where the Trinafour military road crossed the River Garry. Warbridge was the next stance, unidentifiable now, but probably Whitebridge Inn (B846), another long day of seventeen miles. Then came two days of sixteen miles each, to Gatehouse (A826) just south of Aberfeldy, and then to Foulford Inn (A822) north of Crieff, where they stayed two nights – the only day's rest in the entire 43 days.

Excluding this day off, the highland part of the journey had covered 129 miles in thirteen days, the total cost of stances amounting to £6 5s 6d. Most nights, the drovers stopped beside inns, which unsurprisingly had grown up at ten- to fifteen-mile intervals along these routes to service the needs of the cattle. While many, like Cluanie, have remained into modern times, others, like Uanach, owed their existence purely to the cattle trade, vanishing from both map and landscape with the passing of the droving era.

The lowlands brought the first encounter with turnpike roads and tolls, which, though enabling faster progress, increased the daily costs. The next day, 6 June, covered eighteen miles, with three different tolls – Crieff, Greenlinen and Muthill, costing over 9s – before taking the Sheriffmuir road and overnighting at Lairhills (Greenlinen was presumably Greenloaning, but should have come after Muthill on the schedule, an understandable error if McInnes was recording his journey at the end of such a hard day). The cost of stances was also rising, with Lairhills at £1 2s 6d, more than double the average further north. Three more tolls were paid the next day, at Stirling, St Ninian's and Torwill (presumably Torwood), where they stopped overnight.

The journey through central Scotland followed the modern A9 by Falkirk, branching off for Avonbridge (B8028) and stopping at what appears on the manuscript to be Oldmuir, possibly Balmuir on the outskirts of Armadale, where one of the streets is actually called Drove Road. The next two stances were at Wilsontown (B804, A706, B7016), and Skirling via Carnwath (A721, A702). The following day brought them into the borders, passing Rachan Mill (A701) before stopping at Braefoot of Tweedsmuir near the source of the river. It took three more days to clear Scotland, passing through Moffat to overnight at Dumcrieff (A708), then the last Scottish stance at Ecclefechan (via Johnstonebridge, B7076), and finally, on 14 June, crossing the border shortly after passing Gretna Toll, to reach a stance at Kingmoor on the northern outskirts of Carlisle.

Distances and costs

The Scottish leg covered some 275 miles in 23 days: excluding the rest at Foulford, a daily average of 12.5 miles. Travel costs amounted to £2 16s 6d for ferry, £16 5s 6d for stances, and £3 3s 10d for road tolls – a total of £22 5s 10d.

The journey through England, naturally following the west-coast route from Carlisle through Kendal, Preston, Wigan, Worcester, Gloucester, Bridgwater [sic] to Arlington, covered 375 miles in 21 days at an astonishing average of eighteen miles per day, presumably because of the better roads. The costs inevitably were much higher – £49 5s on grass and £8 4s 11d on tolls.

The combined wages of the three drovers for the entire journey south were £17 4s, with £4 4s shared between them for 'return money' – a total of £21 8s. No specific charge was made for food or accommodation for themselves, so either this was covered within the wage or they simply slept rough with the cattle and carried their own provisions. The total expenses amounted to £101 13s, excluding, of course, the cost of the cattle themselves – and with wartime inflation a herd of this size could have cost anything between £500 and £700, or more depending on the exact timing of the transaction.

Comparative costing shows that the average price of a stance in the highlands was 10-12s, in lowland Scotland £1, in the borders £2, in England £2 5s to £2 10s, the highest being £2 13s 6d. In England, where they were confined much more strictly to roads, the drovers would have had no choice but to pay whatever a farmer or innkeeper demanded for overnight grazing, perhaps another factor in the longer daily mileages. Toll charges varied considerably according to local circumstances: the highlands, none; central and southern Scotland 2-7s; northern England 2-8s; the midlands, where traffic was heaviest, 13-15s; the south 4-9s. The expenses make no mention of shoeing, so it would appear that, in spite of the hundreds of miles on metalled roads, this drove was never shod.

Though the schedule details every stop and toll, the actual order of towns and stances in central England is rather confused, suggesting that some of the details were recorded later, hence becoming muddled – this was, after all, unknown territory, and communication between the Gaelic-speaking drovers and the west-country English communities they encountered cannot have been easy.

Conclusion

This one isolated document reveals an intriguing insight into droving: the remarkable overall length of journey and stamina of highland cattle; daily distances far beyond what has generally been considered feasible, not just on one day, but repeated day after day, and mostly on hard roads; and then the detailed costing through so many different regions of the country. Beyond the drove itself are the fascinating characters that emerge, the apparent network of catholic and Jacobite ties between families at opposite ends of the country, the financial links to emigration, and a brief glimpse into the mind of a possibly rather eccentric early 19th-century improver. Not least in significance, however, these characters give further illustration of the ability of post-Culloden highland Jacobite gentry to integrate into – and exert influence within – the wider world of imperial Britain, whether marrying into English gentry, becoming respected doctors in lowland and English society, or taking a leading role in colonial institutions.

Dr David Taylor was formerly principal teacher of History at Kingussie High School. Since retirement he has completed a PhD on 18th-century Badenoch with the UHI, and his subsequent book 'The Wild Black Region: Badenoch 1750-1800', was published by Birlinn in 2016.

FURTHER READING

The Drove Roads of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1952), A.R.B. Haldane

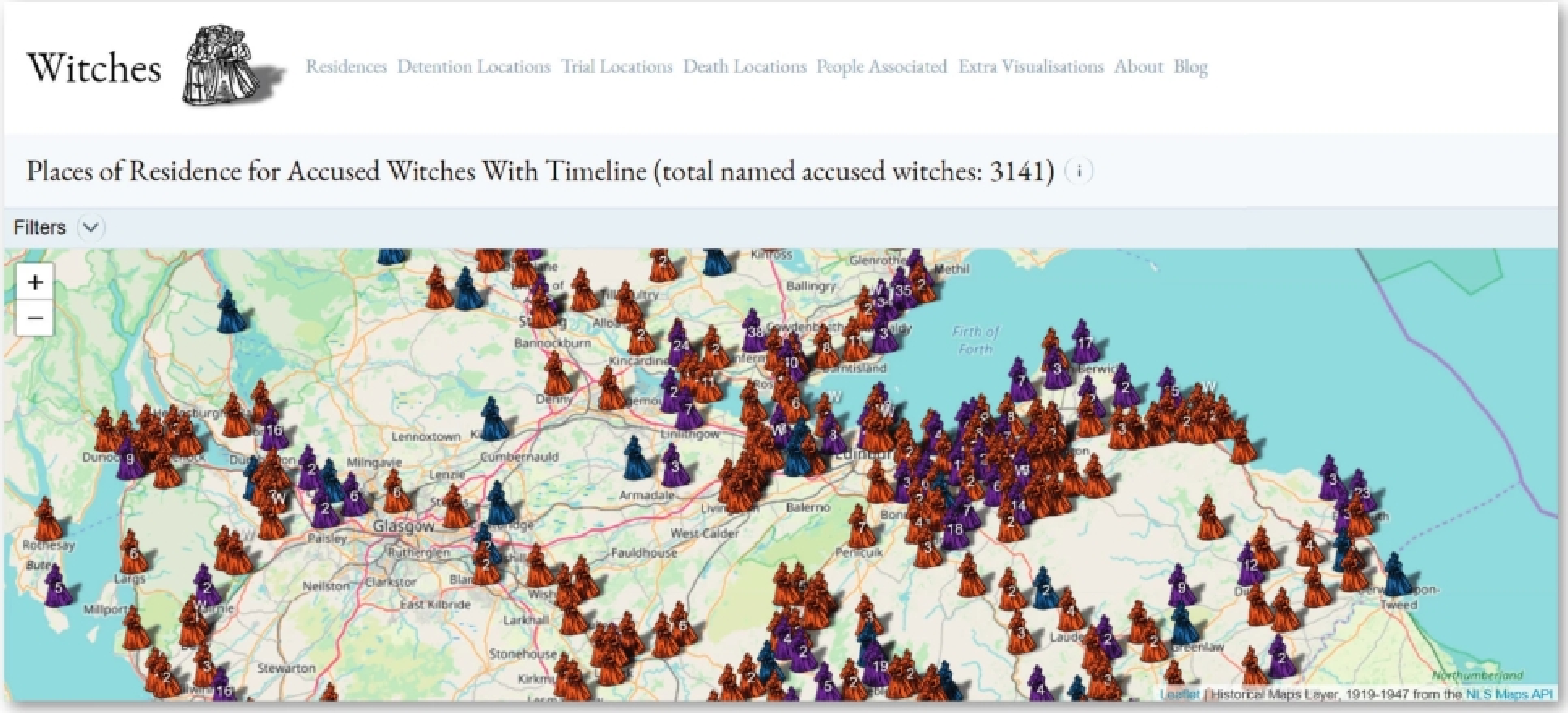
A Family Memoir of the Macdonalds of Keppoch (London,1885), A. Macdonald

EUAN MACPHERSON
THE LAST
JACOBITE
HEROINE
THE AMAZING STORY OF "COLONEL" ANNE MACKINTOSH 1723-84

Read about the amazing story of Anne Mackintosh
a women born before her time in a story that still resonates today

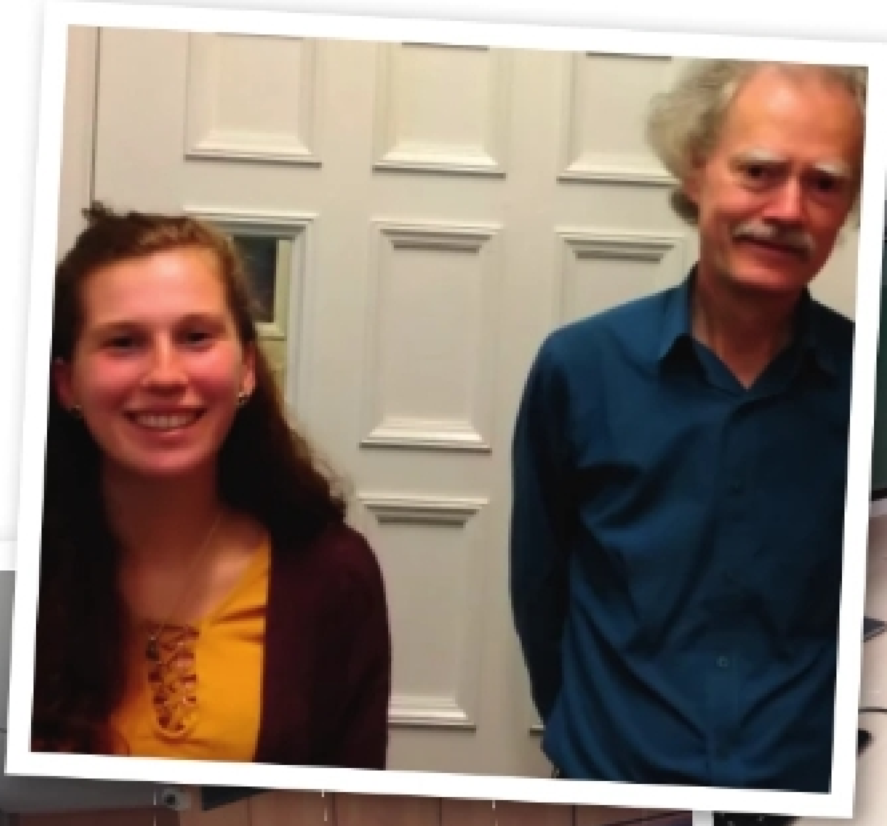
BUY TODAY

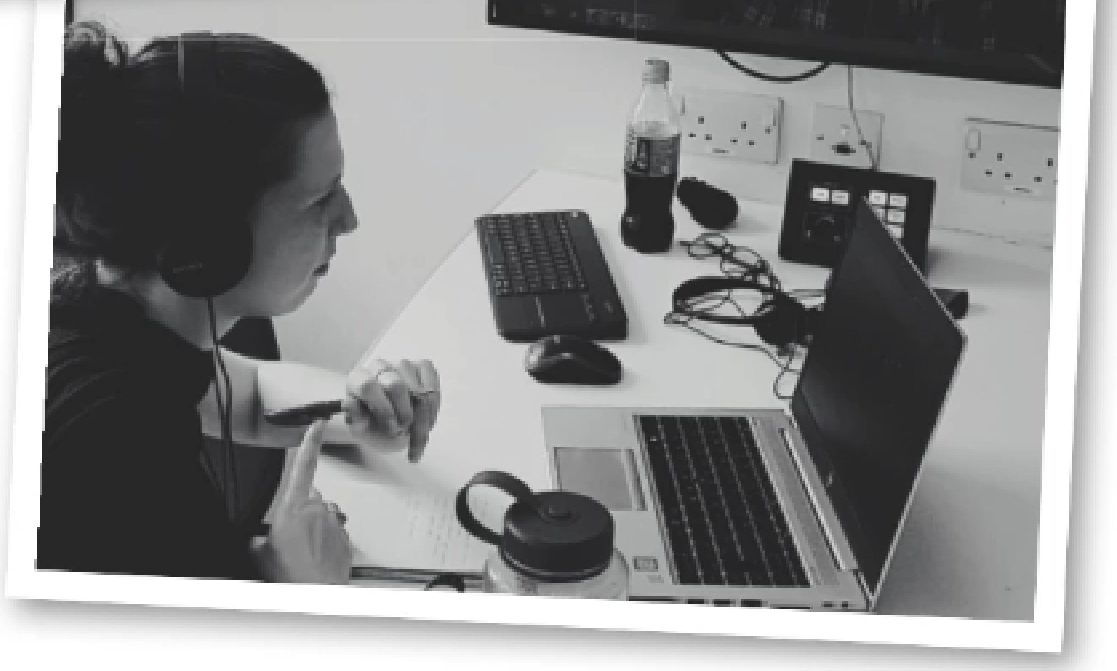
UK: https://scot.sh/lastjacobiteuk
USA: https://scot.sh/lastjacobiteus


Witches
Residences Detention Locations Trial Locations Death Locations People Associated Extra Visualisations About Blog
Filters
+
–
Glasgow
Paisley
Rutherglen
Milngavie
Lennoxtown
Cumbernauld
Lenzie
Bannockburn
Kincardine
Denny
Linlithgow
Armadale
West Calder
Fauldhouse
Balerno
Penicuik
Ballingry
Methil
Firth of Forth
Rothesay
Bute
Largs
Millport
Neilston
Clarkston
East Kilbride
Larkhall
Stonehouse
Stewarton
Lauder
Greenlaw
Northumberland
Leaflet | Historical Maps Layer, 1919-1947 from the NLS Maps API

Places of Residence for Accused Witches With Timeline (total named accused witches: 3141)

PUTTING SCOTLAND'S accused witches ON THE MAP





Ewan McAndrew, Wikimedian in Residence at the University of Edinburgh, charts the creation of an interactive map of over 3,000 accused witches, created as the result of a multi-media project based on the *Survey of Scottish Witchcraft* database

Who would have thought there would be such interest in data about historic witches? And what do we even mean when we use the term 'witch'?

For Professor Julian Goodare of the University of Edinburgh, co-director of the *Survey of Scottish Witchcraft* database, the term 'witch' is shorthand for 'someone who was called a witch at the time'. Further, they have to have been called a witch in a context that made it plausible that they might have been prosecuted for witchcraft.

Now, a new interactive map tracks more than 3,000 Scots accused of being witches in the 16th and 17th century. Open data experts at the University of Edinburgh's Information Services directorate have been building profiles using linked open data of all the women and men who were accused of practicing witchcraft as part of an internship project which has breathed new life into an old dataset, caught the public's attention and helped to change the way the stories of these women and men were being told.

The map is built upon a landmark Edinburgh study that highlighted the plight of the many people – overwhelmingly women (85 per cent) – who were strangled and burned at the stake. Now users can move through a map of Scotland to see where the accused witches lived, and the places where they were detained, punished and executed.

The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft Database

The *Survey of Scottish Witchcraft* Database Project was led by Professor Julian Goodare and Dr Louise Yeoman, formerly a curator at the National Library of Scotland, later a researcher with BBC Scotland.

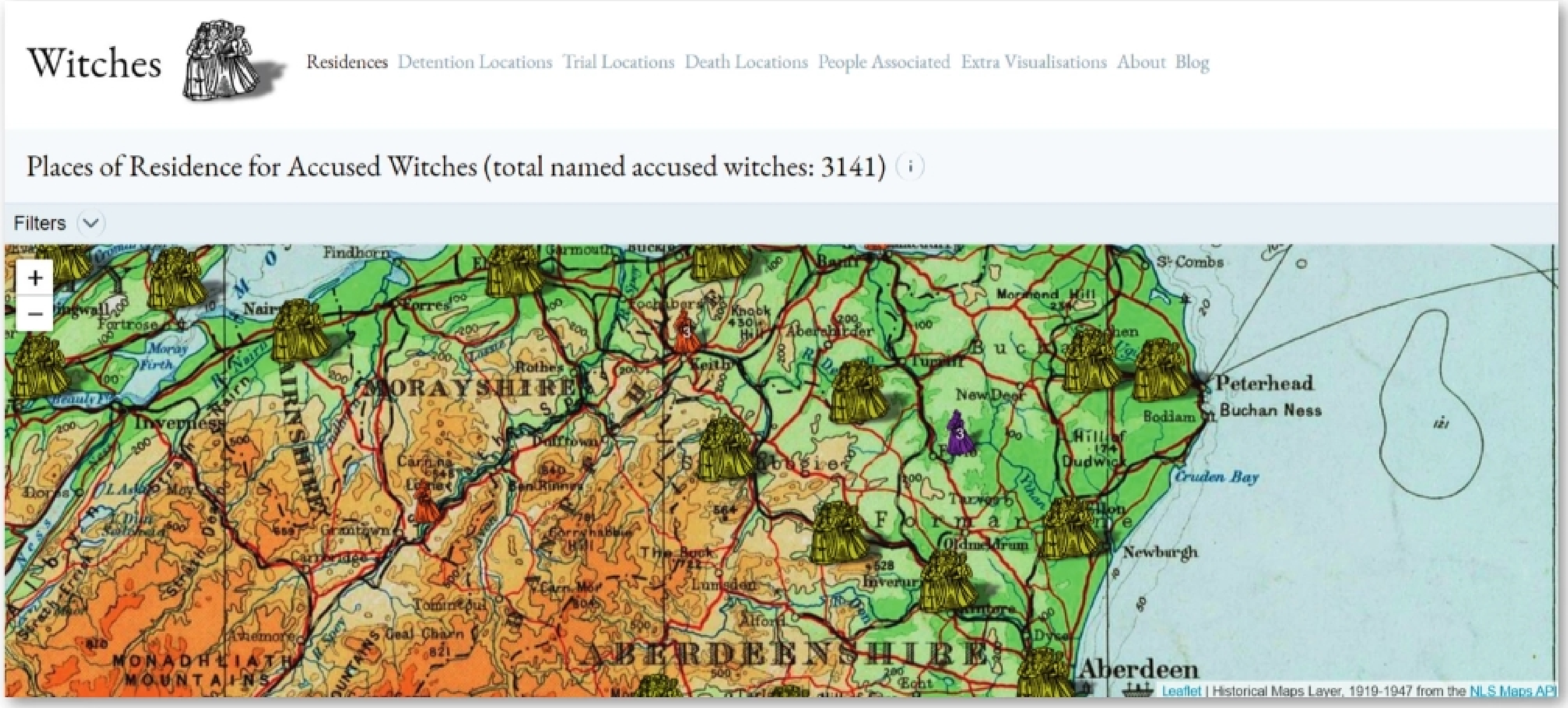
This fabulous resource began life in the 1990s as its four project members worked to collect, collate and record all known information about accused witches and witchcraft belief in early modern Scotland (from 1563 to 1736). A successful funding application to the ESRC in 2000 meant the recorded information could then be migrated into a Microsoft Access database with a web-based user interface for the database finally realised in 2003. Almost 20 years later, it is a data-set that still has the power to fascinate as an extremely rich historical resource.

However, whilst the original site has some interactive graphs and maps, they are a bit long in the tooth now. Since 2003, the survey data has remained static in the Access database and so students on the University of Edinburgh's Data Science for Design MSc were invited to consider at the course's annual data fair what could be done if the data were to be exported into Wikipedia's sister project, Wikidata, and linked to other datasets. And beyond this, what new insights and visualisations of the data could be achieved?

Happily, two groups were enthused, both in 2017 and again in 2018, to work on this assignment and busied themselves analysing, modelling and processing the data for import before showing their end-of-project visualisations. The success of this data fair model, where researchers have three minutes to pitch data challenges involving real datasets for the Masters students to work on, in groups of three, over a six-week project, prompted questions as to what more could be done with the *Survey of Scottish Witchcraft* data and whether funds could be leveraged to hire a student with

Above left and below: the map tracks more than 3,000 Scots and covers the 16th and 17th centuries

Below left: Professor Julian Goodare with 'witchfinder general', student intern Emma Carroll, whose three-month research project resulted in the interactive map; project students at work


Witches
Residences
Detention Locations
Trial Locations
Death Locations
People Associated
Extra Visualisations
About
Blog
Filters
+
−
Findhorn
Nairn
Forres
Fortrose
Moray Firth
Inverness
MORAYSHIRE
Keith
Rothes
Aberchirder
Turriff
Banff
New Deer
Peterhead
Buchan Ness
Boddam
Cruden Bay
Dudwick
Newburgh
Oldmeldrum
Inverurie
Alford
Lumsden
ABERDEENSHIRE
Aberdeen
MONADHLIATH MOUNTAINS
St Combs
Leaflet | Historical Maps Layer, 1919-1947 from the NLS Maps API

Places of Residence for Accused Witches (total named accused witches: 3141)

As a result of this project, around 3,100 women and men accused of witchcraft in Scotland can be gelocated on a map so people can find out about cases close to them

I ?query
WIKIDATA
I [edit]
WIKIDATA
I ?query
WIKIDATA

Wikidata volunteers model project T-Shirts

Wikidata broom pens

good Geographical Information Systems skills who would take the work done to date on to the next level, the idea being to work over a more extended period to track down all the places mentioned in the database and geolocate them on a map for the first time.

Recruiting the 'witchfinder general'

This interactive map was conceived and built by student intern Emma Carroll, who worked for three months collating the historical information and plotting the locations on the map of Scotland.

Emma's Data and Visualisation internship was organised by Equate Scotland Careerwise – an initiative that arranges paid placements in industry to women working in STEM subjects. The task demanded a lot of detective work as many of the places recorded do not exist anymore or have changed over time.

Emma worked closely under the direct supervision of the University's Wikimedian in Residence, Ewan McAndrew, who helps staff and students develop digital skills and information literacy through improving the quality of information online through Wikipedia and its sister projects.

A joint approach

The project was a collaborative one, with Emma's detective work involving colleagues from the National Library of Scotland, the Scottish Studies Archive and the Scottish Place-Name Society, while the creation of the website drew in creativity and expertise from the university's interactive content team and e-learning developers. The project also involved academics from Edinburgh Futures Institute, as well as university researchers working in the fields of data driven innovation and digital humanities.

The map itself is built upon Wikidata, a free and open hub of machine-readable structured open data, as part of the university's Wikimedian in Residence partnership with Wikimedia UK. Emma collaborated with Wikidata experts across the UK, blogged every week of her three-month project and produced a new 'beginner's guide' video tutorial on how to process and reconcile data with the open source software, OpenRefine.

Since the map's launch in September, this project has gained media coverage across Scotland and the world and shows the potential of engaging with linked open data for students, educators, researchers, data scientists and repositories of all kinds as this resource is a free, open and stable knowledgebase available to everyone.

Beyond this, anyone can help connect to and leverage from a variety of other complementary datasets in multiple languages; helping to fuel discovery through exploring the direct and indirect relationships at play in this semantic web of knowledge, enabling insights in a variety of disciplines. Wikidata is also a community-driven project so this allows students to work collaboratively and develop the online citizenship skills necessary in today's digital economy.

Changing the way stories are told

As a result of this project, around 3,100 women and men accused of witchcraft in Scotland are now geolocated on a map so people can find out about the cases local to them. Around 20 notable women accused of witchcraft in Scotland now have their own Wikipedia page for people around the world to read and discover all about them.

The stories include that of Margaret Aitken, the 'Great Witch of

Balwearie', who became a key figure in the witch hunts, led by James VI, after claiming she could identify witches by looking for a secret mark in their eye. Or there is farmer's wife Isobel Young from East Lothian, who was accused, strangled and burned at the stake for 'witchcraft' after her neighbours labelled her verbally and physically aggressive and prone to 'odd magical characteristics'.

Also interesting is the case of Lilias Adie who, in the early 1700s, was accused of witchcraft but died during her detainment in prison. In order that the devil not re-animate her body, Adie was buried in Torryburn bay and her grave covered with a half-ton slab. What was left of her remains were later unearthed centuries later, first by curio hunters in the 19th century, and then more recently by Dr Louise Yeoman from the BBC, and archaeologist Douglas Spiers.

To date, Adie is the only accused witch in Scotland we can put a face to, following the pioneering work of University of Dundee forensic artists digitally reconstructing what they believe her face looked like using 100-year-old photographs of her skull.

And this is what the project has been about; moving away from the Halloween idea of witches and finding the real human stories throughout Scotland during this intense period of persecution.

Looking to the future, members of the public are being asked to help identify the final 25 places from the 800+ that Emma managed to geolocate. See the list at: http://witches.is.ed.ac.uk/resources

The hope is that this project will aid students' understanding of data literacy and help shed new light on this period of Scottish history. In turn, this may help fuel discoveries by dint of surfacing this data, making it queryable and linking it with other datasets across the UK and beyond. As the *Survey of Scottish Witchcraft*'s website states: 'Our list of people involved in the prosecution of witchcraft suspects can now be used as the basis for further inquiry and research'.

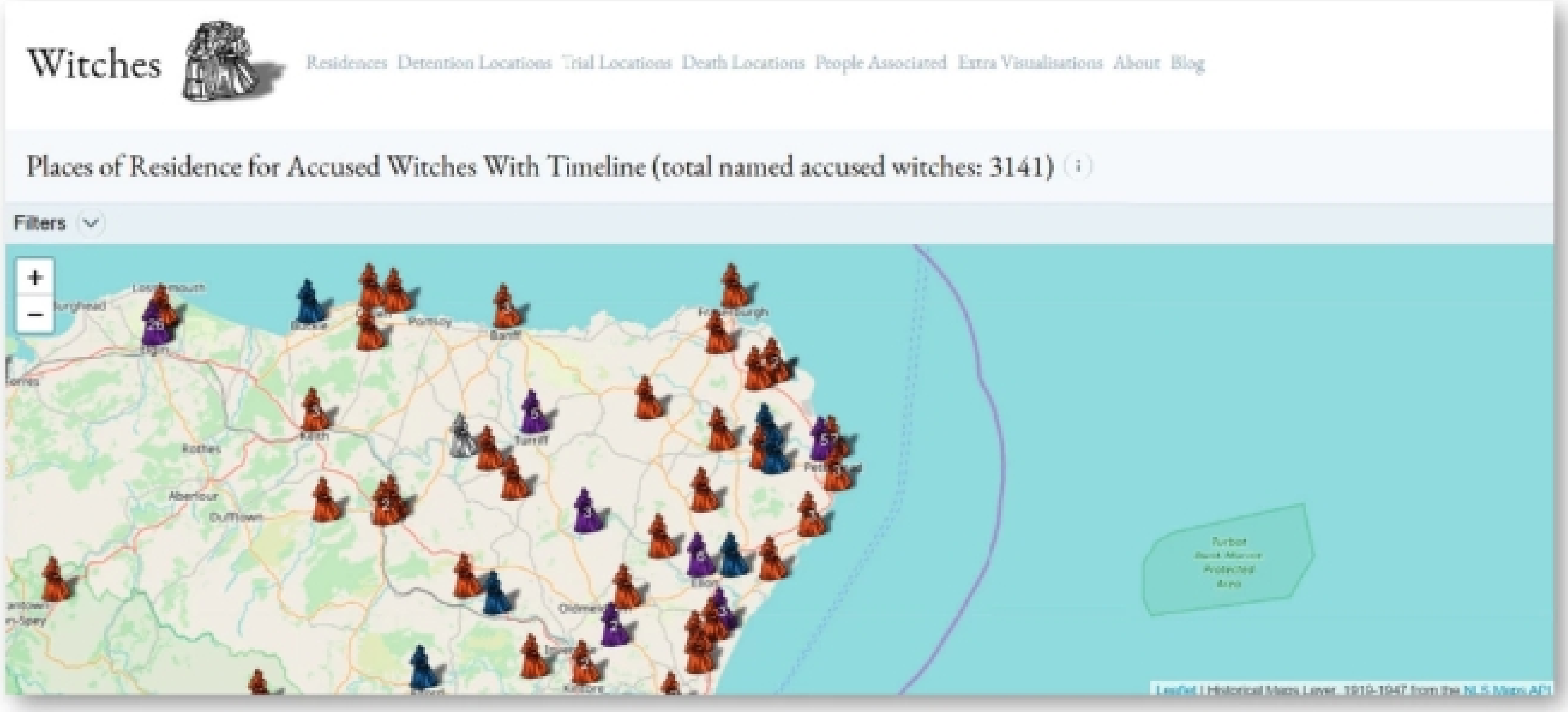
To view the map, visit https://witches.is.ed.ac.uk/

Ewan McAndrew has been Wikimedian in Residence at the University of Edinburgh since January 2016, supporting the university's commitment to sharing Open Knowledge and developing information literacy and digital skills.

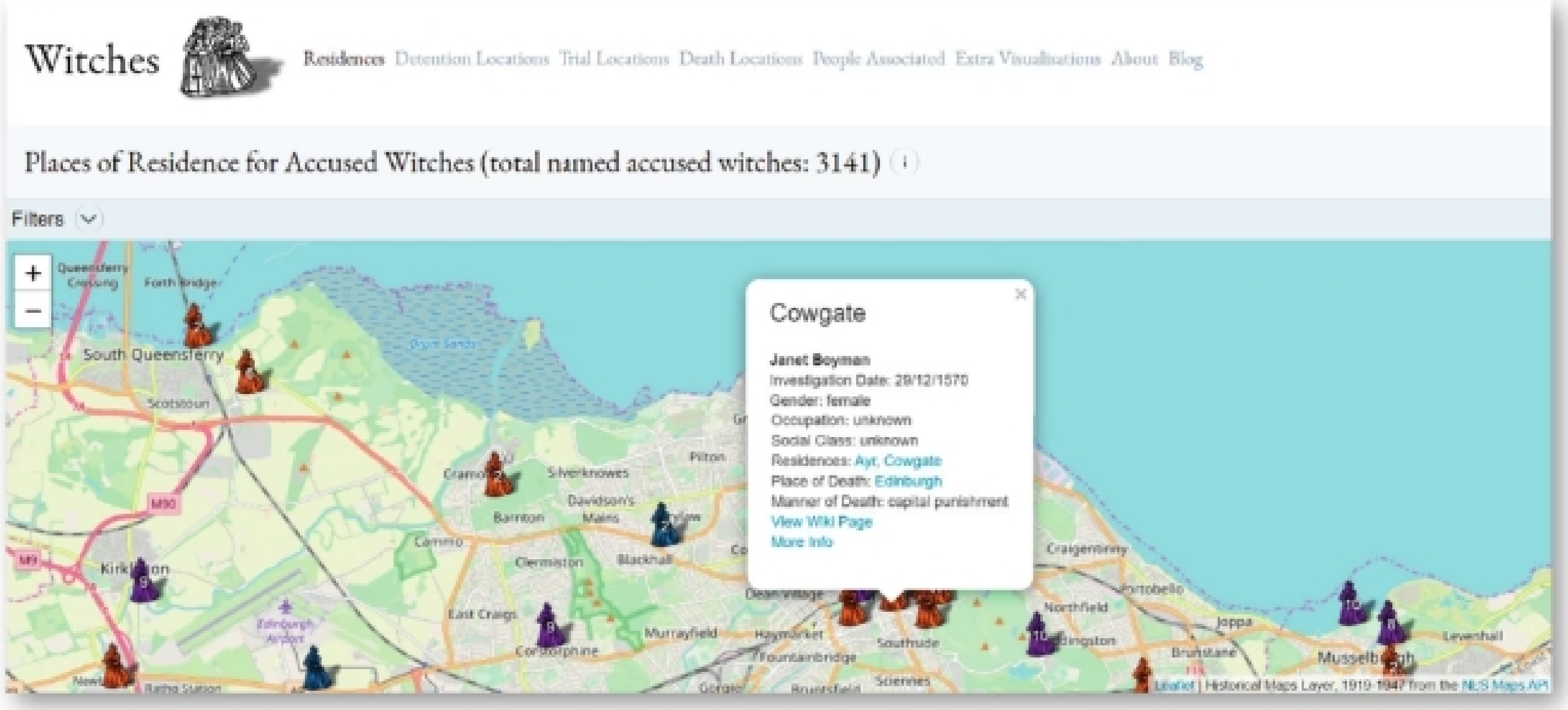
Prior to this, Ewan volunteered with the Glasgow School of Art archives on their WW1 Roll of Honour project and worked as an English and Media teacher in the Far East (Japan, Singapore and South Korea) and in Scotland.

ONLINE RESOURCES

- Survey of Scottish Witchcraft Database Project: www.shca.ed.ac.uk/Research/witches/
- A potted version of Emma Carroll's work in her own words, from her talk at the 2019 ALT conference: https://youtu.be/EigXB-Z6DuM
- Careerwise work placement promotion scheme: https://equatescotland.org.uk/projects/careerwise/
- Data visualisation internship blog: https://scot.sh/datablog
- Wikimedian in Residence Project: https://scot.sh/wikimedian


Witches
Residences
Detention Locations
Trial Locations
Death Locations
People Associated
Extra Visualisations
About
Blog
Filters
Leaflet | Historical Maps Layer, 1919-1947 from the NLS Maps API

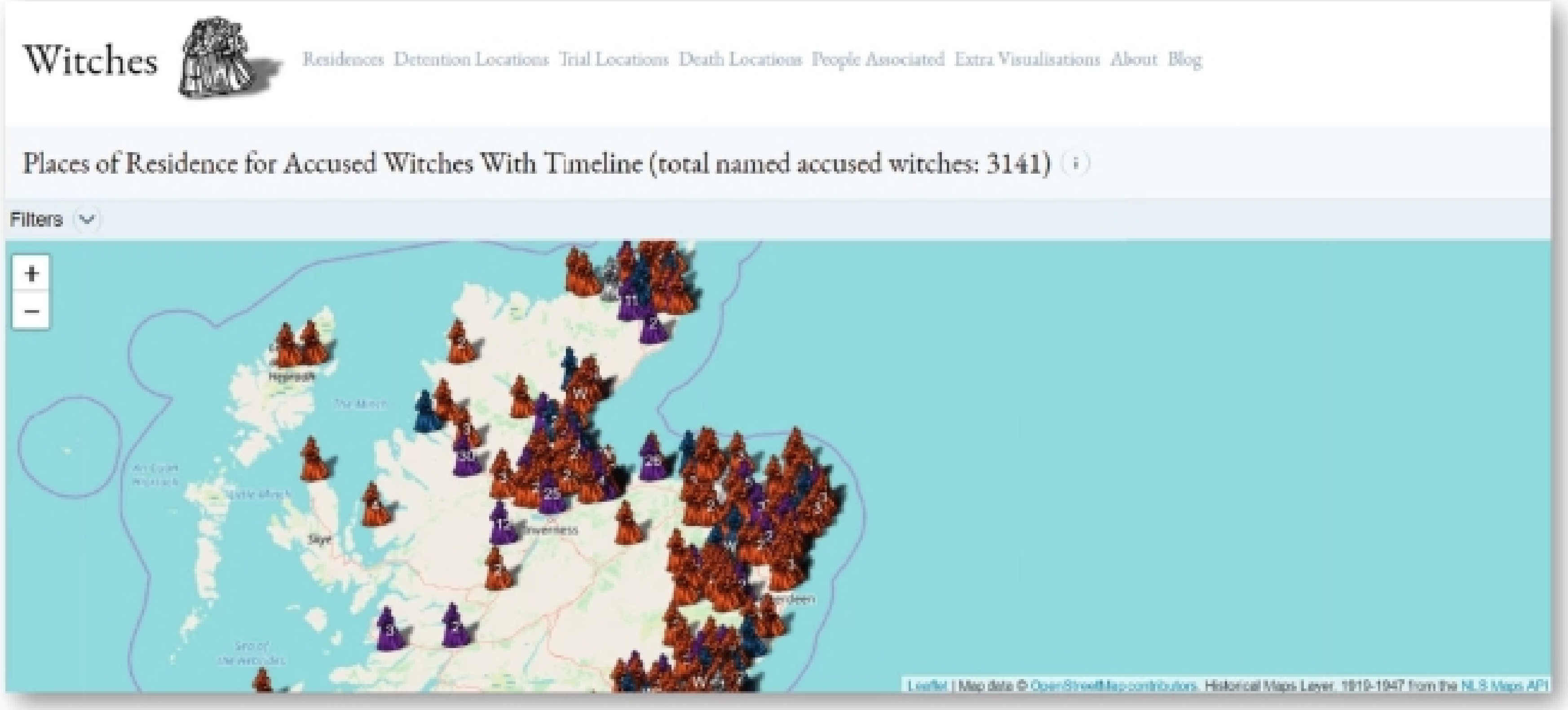
Places of Residence for Accused Witches With Timeline (total named accused witches: 3141)


Witches
Residences
Detention Locations
Trial Locations
Death Locations
People Associated
Extra Visualisations
About
Blog
Filters
Leaflet | Historical Maps Layer, 1919-1947 from the NLS Maps API

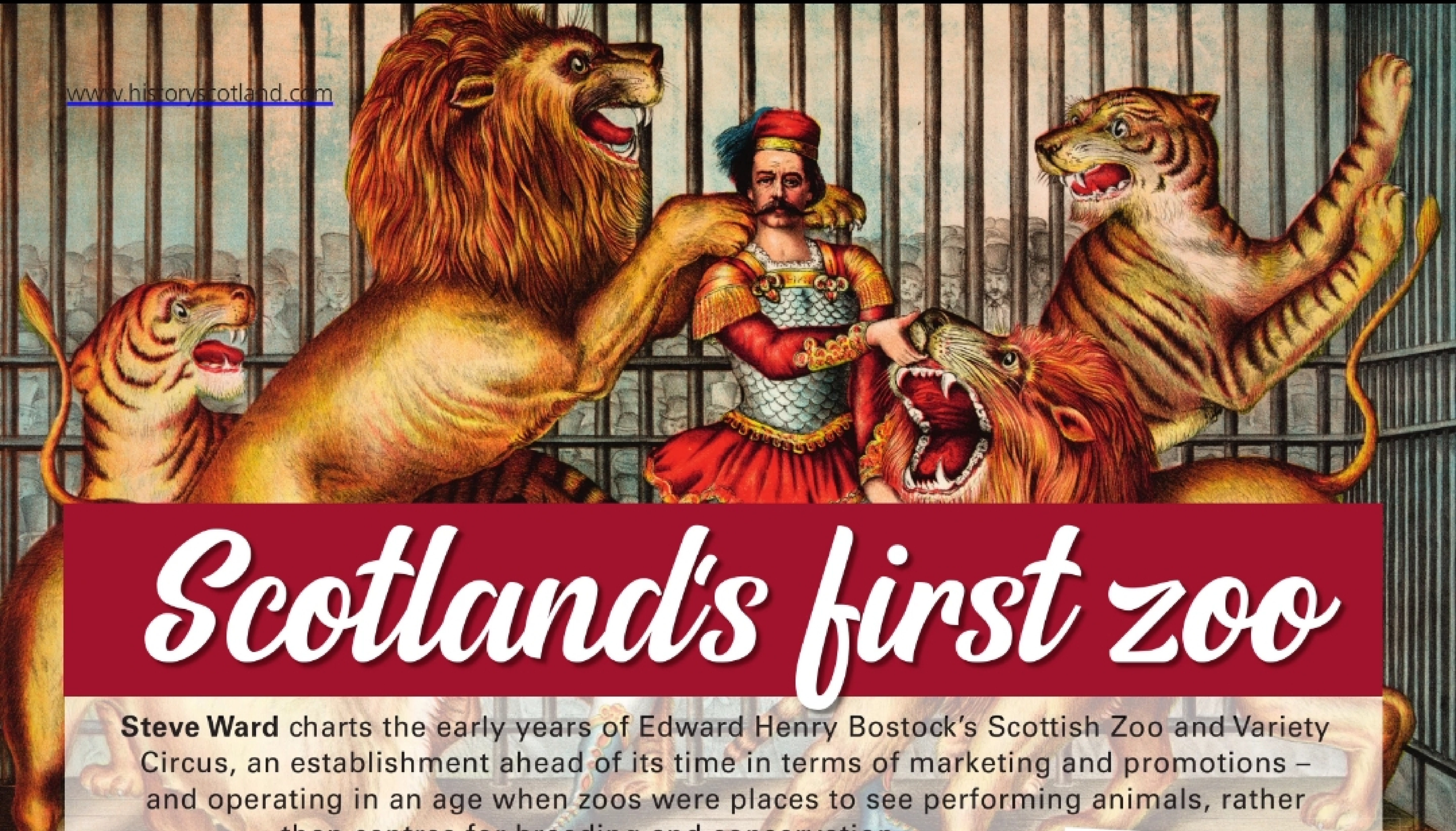
Places of Residence for Accused Witches (total named accused witches: 3141)

Cowgate

Janet Boyman
Investigation Date: 29/12/1570
Gender: female
Occupation: unknown
Social Class: unknown
Residences: Ayr, Cowgate
Place of Death: Edinburgh
Manner of Death: capital punishment
View Wiki Page
More Info


Witches
Residences
Detention Locations
Trial Locations
Death Locations
People Associated
Extra Visualisations
About
Blog
Filters
Leaflet | Map data © OpenStreetMap contributors, Historical Maps Layer, 1919-1947 from the NLS Maps API

Places of Residence for Accused Witches With Timeline (total named accused witches: 3141)



Performer Isaac Van Amburgh with his lions, published by Gibson & Co, *c.*1873

Scotland's first zoo

Steve Ward charts the early years of Edward Henry Bostock's Scottish Zoo and Variety Circus, an establishment ahead of its time in terms of marketing and promotions – and operating in an age when zoos were places to see performing animals, rather than centres for breeding and conservation

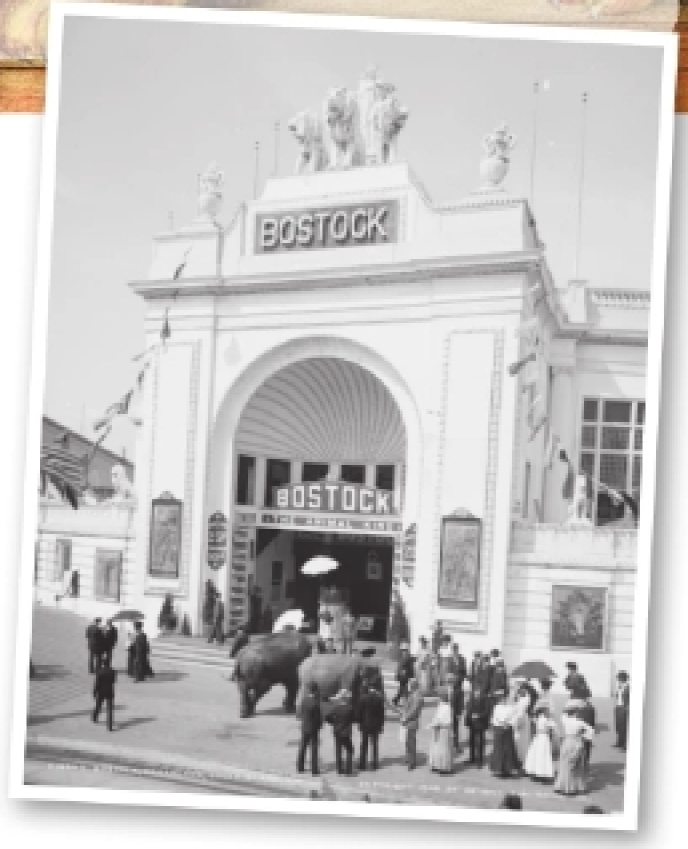
If you think of Scotland and zoos, one automatically thinks of the Edinburgh zoo, set in the suburb of Corstorphine. This zoological park opened in 1913 and is world famous for its captive breeding programme and conservation work. However, it was certainly not the first zoo in Scotland. This credit must go to the Scottish Zoo and Variety Circus, established in Glasgow in 1897 by Edward Henry Bostock.

Born in 1858 in Buckinghamshire, Bostock came from a family of menagerie owners. Collections of wild and exotic animals had been seen in England going back to the days of William the Conqueror, who had a small royal menagerie. In the 12th century, Henry I kept a collection of animals at his palace in Woodstock, and King John established a menagerie at the Tower of London, a collection that continued there until 1825.

It was not until the late 18th and early 19th centuries that travelling menageries, run by showmen, became popular throughout the country. One of the largest of these was run by a man named George Wombwell. At its peak, Wombwell's menagerie had three outfits touring the country. It was a James Bostock, a waggoner with Wombwell's, who married the boss's niece Emma and went on to set up his own menagerie in 1867. On his death his widow continued running the menagerie, in which her son Edward was now working. By 1883 he had established his own outfit; E. H. Bostock's Grand Star Menagerie, and went on to tour throughout Scotland in 1894, visiting 'almost every town from Berwick to Wick and Thurso, even exhibiting at Mey, which is only five miles from John O'Groat's House'.

Eventually he bought his mother's outfit in 1889. The Bostock & Wombwell Menagerie was now the largest in the country. He toured widely until 1876 when, on medical advice, he retired to Norwich, where he established a static menagerie. However, having toured in Scotland several times, he realised that the country had no permanent zoo and that if he could acquire the right premises it could be a significant commercial investment. Early in 1897 the *Eastern Daily Press* reported a statement from Bostock about his new venture:

Having taken a lease of the Olympia, New City Road, Glasgow it is my intention to open the same in May in first-class style as a "Zoo" for Scotland, and with it combine a circus performance. Scotland has for a long time been behind other countries in this respect… with my previous experience I hope to inaugurate a collection of beasts, birds, and reptiles, that will do credit to any country… I am in a position to vary the exhibits from time to time, and this gives me an advantage over those who have one resident collection and speculate very little in dealing… The opening will be under distinguished patronage, and the entire proceeds of the first exhibition and performance will be given to the Western and royal Infirmaries.



Bostock's Dreamland at Coney Island, 1905. The Bostock family branched out into the USA and had a menagerie/circus on Coney Island

Opening day

After extensive refurbishment, the Olympia building opened on 12 May as the Scottish Zoo and Variety Circus, under the patronage of the lord provost of the city. Bostock was very astute in the way he planned the venture to provide the 'only permanent place of amusement of its kind in Europe'. *The Northern British Daily Mail* published the same day went on to create a colourful scene in which the building had been thoroughly:

'CLEARED, FLOORED, PAINTED, DECORATED, AND ILLUMINATED BY ELECTRIC LIGHT, while the entire building is surrounded with Strong Cages for the reception of the Denizens of the Forest. Palms and other Plants, Fountains, &c., have been added, turning the Huge Building at once into a High-Class Educational Institution and ZOOLOGICAL PROMENADE. No more suitable establishment could be opened in Scotland to commemorate the Queen's Diamond Jubilee than the SCOTTISH ZOO… THE ZOO offers practical opportunities for Zoological research in one of the most complete collections in Britain. THE LIONS, TIGERS, LEOPARDS AND OTHER SAVAGE ANIMALS have been trained to perform in a most remarkable manner, and will serve to illustrate the supremacy of man over the brute creation. CHILDREN WILL BE ABLE TO ENJOY A RIDE UPON THE ELEPHANTS, CAMELS, DROMEDARIES, ZEBRAS &c.'

The zoo was open daily, from 11am until 10.30pm, at a charge of one shilling for adults and sixpence for children (sixpence for all after 6pm). Performances with the animals were three times a day, and feeding at least once daily. But there was to be more – Bostock combined the ever-popular circus with his zoo. In the centre of the building he constructed an entirely separate circus venue. Visits to the circus were optional, at a price of two shillings for reserved seats, one shilling pit and promenade (children half price), and sixpence for all classes in the gallery, with three performances a day. It was a permanent circus that drew a wide range of skilled artistes from around the world. Bostock spared no expense and his first season ran unbroken for almost a year. And here was his clever marketing ploy – 'No Person can visit the Circus except those passing through the Zoo'. So, if you wanted to watch the circus you had to pay to see the zoo first!

It was not long before Bostock added a more diverse range of animals to his collection. On a naval day held that September, he was showing a walrus, a young polar bear and a sea-horse (the only specimen ever exhibited in Scotland). The following year he added a chimpanzee, which he advertised as 'Darwin's Missing Link', and in 1900 he was offering seven polar bears. Bostock even displayed the body of his dead elephant 'Sir Roger' for viewing. A must for all to see! Also in 1900 he introduced a dog-faced baboon named 'General Snyman':

The Monkey that so ably assisted Baden-Powell in watching over Mafeking, and who displayed so much intelligence during the famous siege. His principal duty in the Beleaguered Town was to Ring the Alarm Bell the moment the Boers commenced firing, thus giving warning to everybody to take shelter in the Bomb-Proof Erections.

Something for everyone

Bostock provided more than just a zoo and a circus. There were organ recitals and string bands, and during its closed period the circus was turned into a concert hall. Always willing to embrace the new, Bostock presented:

Prof. WATSON'S NEW CINEMATOGRAPH, absolutely the Largest and Best Animated Pictures ever produced in Scotland'. The following year he advertised 'THE IMPERIAL BABY INCUBATORS, are, by arrangement, now on view at the Zoo. ACTUAL LIVING BABIES BEING REARED. DOCTOR AND NURSES IN ATTENDANCE.

There was something for everyone: comic water pantomimes and yacht races in the flooded arena, re-enacted prize fights, holiday performances by hundreds of children. With some justification, Bostock was able to advertise his Scottish Zoo and Circus as 'The National Amusement Institution of Scotland'.

In 1902 Bostock went into partnership with Tom Barrasford and they redeveloped the Olympia building into the Glasgow Hippodrome. The circus-variety and zoo were now separate but connected by a corridor. The partnership lasted for only two years and in 1904 Bostock took sole control of the enterprise. He then began to build his own variety empire, opening up several new hippodromes around the country, including one in Paisley and another in Hamilton. He also bought the Royal Italian Circus.

But animals were always his passion. He was a Fellow of the Royal Zoological Society and often donated exotic animals to universities and institutions for scientific purposes. Glasgow Corporation had been considering establishing a zoological park at Rouken Glen and in 1909 Bostock offered them his collection at auction for something in the region of a 40 per cent discount. For some reason they declined the offer. By 1914 the plan had resurfaced, but the war intervened and the plan was put on hold. During the war the hippodrome and zoo was used as a troop billeting centre and later an aeroplane store. At the end of the war Bostock returned his menagerie to half of the building, the other half given over to roller-skating. But the end was near. On 16 July 1919 The *Port-Glasgow Express* printed this notice:

The Scottish Zoo Buildings, so long associated with the name of Mr E. H. Bostock, have been sold, and will immediately be converted into a motor repair depot and garage.

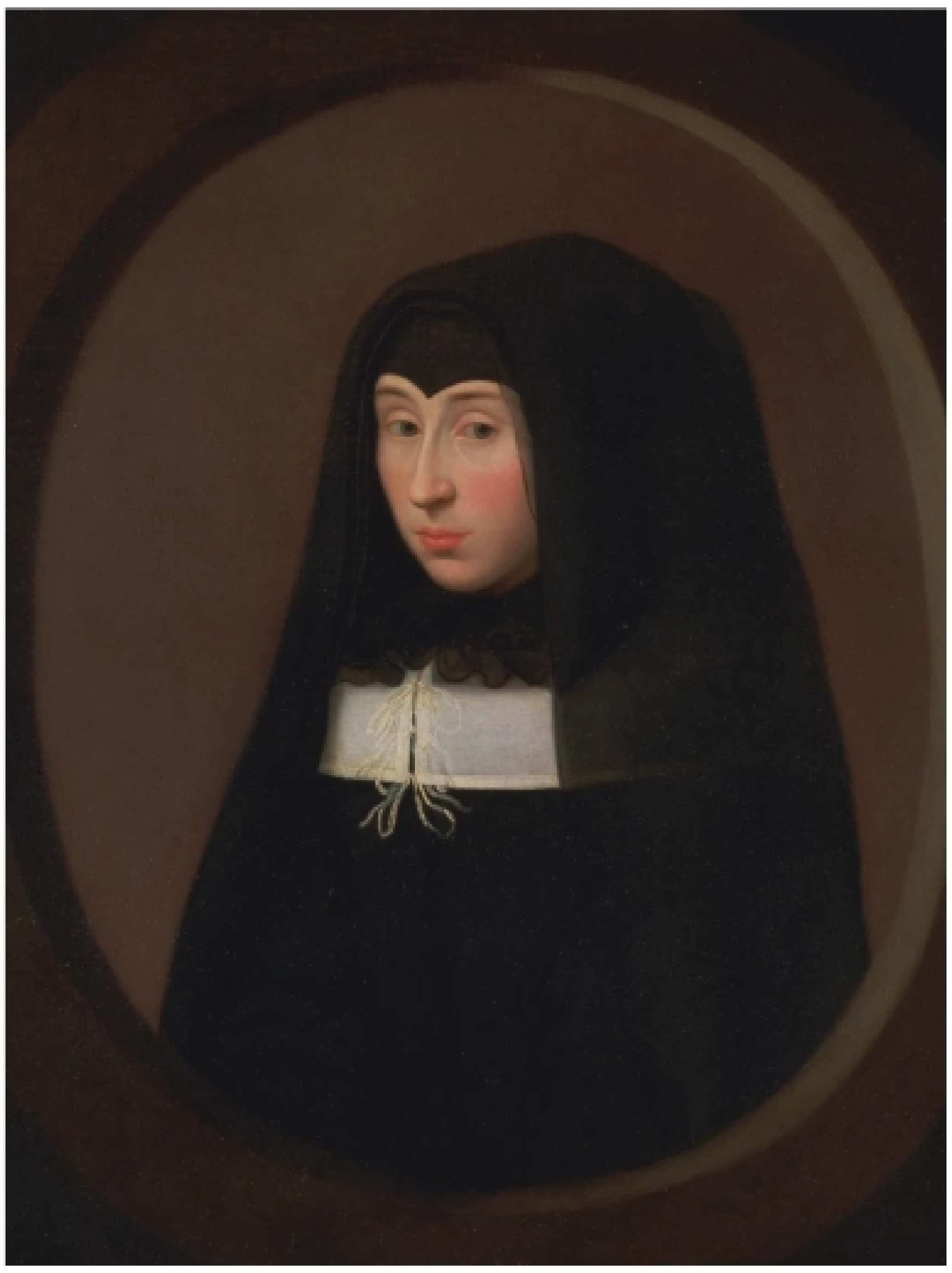
And so Scotland's first zoo came to a close. Bostock continued with his touring menagerie, providing christmas entertainment in Kelvin Hall for several years. In 1932 Bostock announced the retirement of the menagerie and his collection was sold to London Zoo. It was not until 1947 that a zoo was finally opened in Glasgow – 50 years after Bostock's success with the Scottish Zoo and Circus.

Steve Ward is a researcher, author, and speaker. He has a PhD for his research and writing on the social and cultural history of the circus. His published books include 'The Father of the Modern Circus; Billy Buttons; the life & times of Philip Astley' (2018) and 'Nineteenth Century Circus Poster Art' (2018). He is currently working on his next book, exploring ethnic diversity and representation in the Victorian circus, scheduled for publication next year.

FURTHER READING

Menageries, Theatres and Circuses (1927), E. H. Bostock

The Music Hall and Theatre History website: https://scot.sh/lloyd



The Young Widow, Rolland Lefebvre, *c.*1665

‘Providing for widows and orphans is pleasing to Almighty God’

SCOTTISH WIDOWS OF THE THIRTY YEARS’ WAR (1618-1648)

Following last issue’s account of Scottish involvement in the Thirty Years War (1618-48), **Professor Steve Murdoch** and **Dr Kathrin Zickermann** report on the findings of the Scottish War Widows project, which seeks to reconstruct the experiences of Scottish women whose husbands were killed during the conflict

Early modern historians are well aware of the contribution of Scottish soldiers to the Dutch and Scandinavian armies during the Thirty Years’ War: estimates state that over 50,000 Scots aided the anti-Habsburg forces alone throughout the conflict. It is a sobering thought that most of these Scottish soldiers and officers did not return to their home country, but died abroad from the consequences of warfare. More soldiers perished from disease or wounds than did on the day of battle.

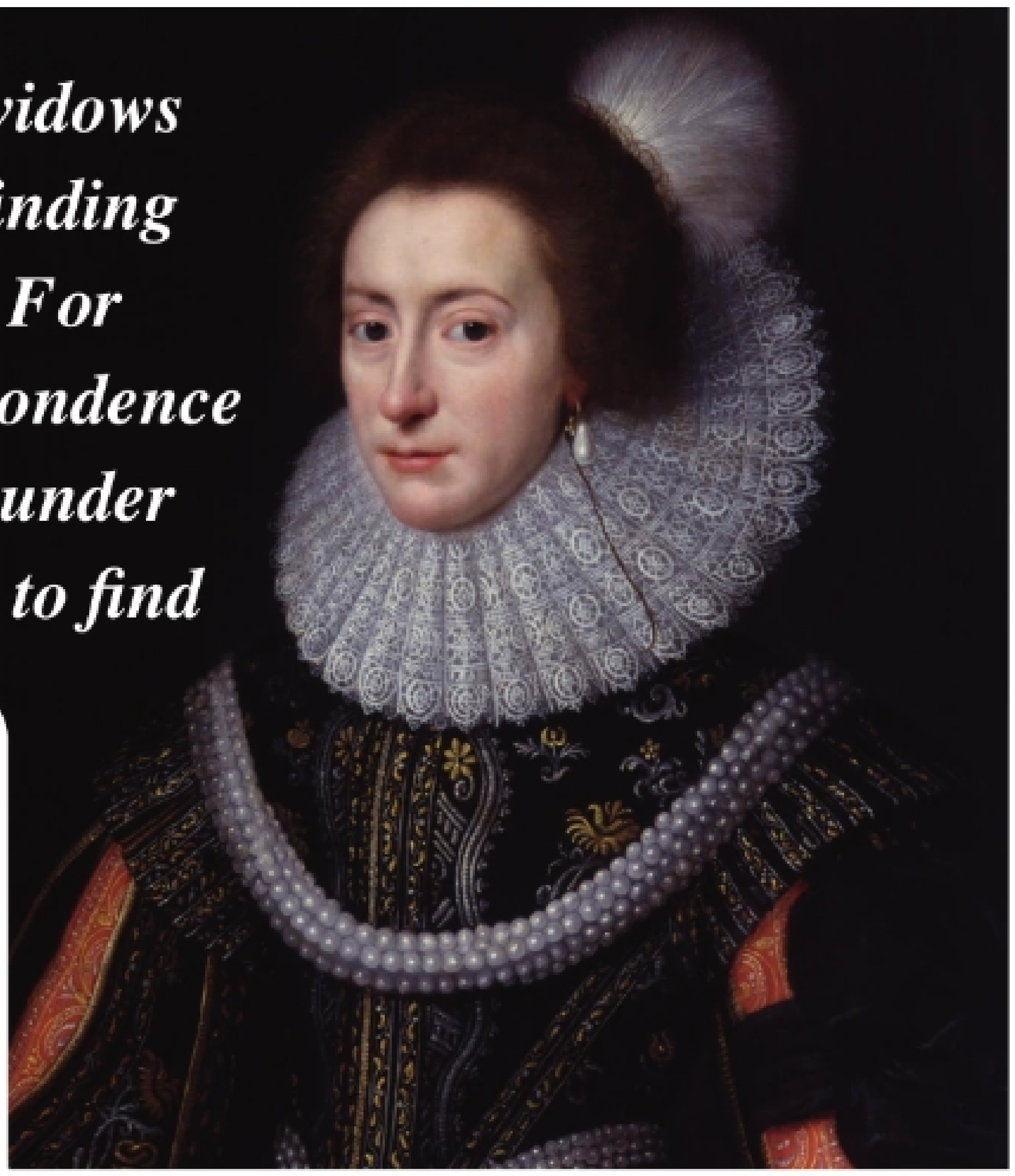
In recent years, substantial research has been undertaken to understand the war experience of these soldiers. However, in comparison, very little is known about those who financially depended on them. The Scottish War Widows project seeks to address this gap and analyses the survival strategies of women who were left behind by their fighting husbands. This group is far from homogeneous and includes women of different means and social standing in various locations in Scotland, the Dutch Republic, the Holy Roman Empire and Scandinavia. Our lack of knowledge about Scottish widows derives not least from the difficulty of finding archival material pertaining to them. For instance, in Swedish archives the correspondence of wives and widows is frequently filed under their husbands’ name, making it harder to find. Nevertheless, a valuable *corpus* of widows’ letters written in Scots, Latin, Swedish, German and Dutch has now been collected, digitally photographed, translated and transcribed. They are scattered in archives across Scotland, England and continental Europe. One of the most important findings from the analysis of their correspondence is that Scottish war widows were not helpless victims of their fate, but could rely on personal and institutional support as well as on their own agency to rebuild or simply maintain their livelihoods.

Provision through wills and remarriage

Scottish war widows were afforded some level of protection through wills and testaments which anticipated the demise of their partner. Research in various Scottish and continental archives demonstrates that soldiers and officers cared about their family’s fate and sought to insure their income as best as they could. For example, Leendert Grim (Graham), who was a common soldier in Colonel William Brog’s company within the Dutch Republic, made a joint will with his wife Christina Bruce in December 1635, in which both were named as sole beneficiaries in the event of the other’s death. However, cases of children inheriting instead of their widows are not uncommon: trumpeter John Maxwell specified that his wife Jannet would become his beneficiary, but only if he died childless. Others had a different view, such as musketeer David ‘Vloeker’, who stipulated that his children could inherit, but only after his wife had died.

General Sir James Spens of Wormiston, a long-term veteran of Swedish service, drafted his will in 1631 protecting his son and heir from his first marriage, William Spens, and his rights to the main

Our lack of knowledge about Scottish widows derives not least from the difficulty of finding archival material pertaining to them. For instance, in Swedish archives the correspondence of wives and widows is frequently filed under their husband's name, making it harder to find



Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, by Michiel Jansz van Miereveldt

Spens barony of Örreholm. He also took care of his second wife Margaret Forrat and stipulated that she should receive at least fifteen farms and the country manor house at Åla (in Uppland, Sweden) so long as she remained unmarried. In the event that she did find a new husband, ten of the farms were to pass to Margaret's and James's son Axel. In addition, Spens's daughters from his first marriage (Isobel, Elizabeth and Cecilia) who had already received 'sufficient dowries', were nevertheless granted specific gifts of money and movables, but Spens was categorical that, through his will, the rights of Margaret Forrat were protected from any claim by his children against her estates. To guarantee this he made Axel and Gabriel Oxenstiern the guardians and protectors of all his children from both marriages. This was a shrewd move, not least as the Oxenstierna family would become the most powerful in Sweden after the death of Gustav II Adolf in 1632, with Axel being both regent and chancellor of the Swedish realm thereafter.

Although remarriage impacted on some of the widows' inheritance it was nevertheless often sought as a way forward. The advantages of finding a new husband and provider often outweighed the disadvantages. Some 50 per cent of the marriages in the Scots-Dutch brigade involved women who had already been widowed. Major General James Ramsay in Sweden used his will to positively urge his wife Isobel Spens to remarry another husband from an established family in order to protect their child.

State-sponsored support: Dutch pensions and Swedish land donations

Of course it is not possible to quantify how many soldiers made wills in the first place or if the majority of wills included sufficient property or money to provide widows with lifelong pensions. What we do know is that a substantial group of widows had to look for alternative means of institutional support. Some soldiers' widows could rely on help from local civic authorities and even interventions by their own monarch, particularly if the men died in the king's service.

For example, widows of soldiers in the service of the Dutch brigade were granted some assistance by the Dutch council of war, although there was no consistency in the level of support granted. In 1621, four widows of Scottish officers received a life pension. However, whereas the widow of Captain John Balfour obtained an annual payment of 50 guilders, the widow of Lieutenant Colonel Caluart, Barbara Bruce, and the widow of Captain Strachan, Anna (Agnes) Kirkpatrick, received 200 guilders each, highlighting that rank was not the defining factor for the amount awarded. As regards Kirkpatrick, later records reveal that she was still receiving the same pension in 1650. In addition, she was awarded a 50 guilder maintenance fund to keep her son at school, a fund that she, like numerous other mothers, did receive.

After the end of the Twelve Years' truce (1609-21) with Spain and the subsequent siege of Bergen-Op-Zoom (1622), the Dutch declined several applications for pensions. This for example affected the widow of Captain David Ramsay, Delia Butler, who was instead awarded a sum of 80 guilders to facilitate her return to Scotland. There were complications in this case: Delia Butler was the daughter of the late Captain Thomas Butler who served under Colonel Buccleuch. She had previously brought a case against Buccleuch who, though she was only fifteen, had seduced her and fathered a child by her. She successfully fought for custody of the child and received ongoing financial compensation for Buccleuch's actions. When her husband was killed it seems that the States-General baulked at a second round of ongoing compensation and so paid her passage home to Scotland.

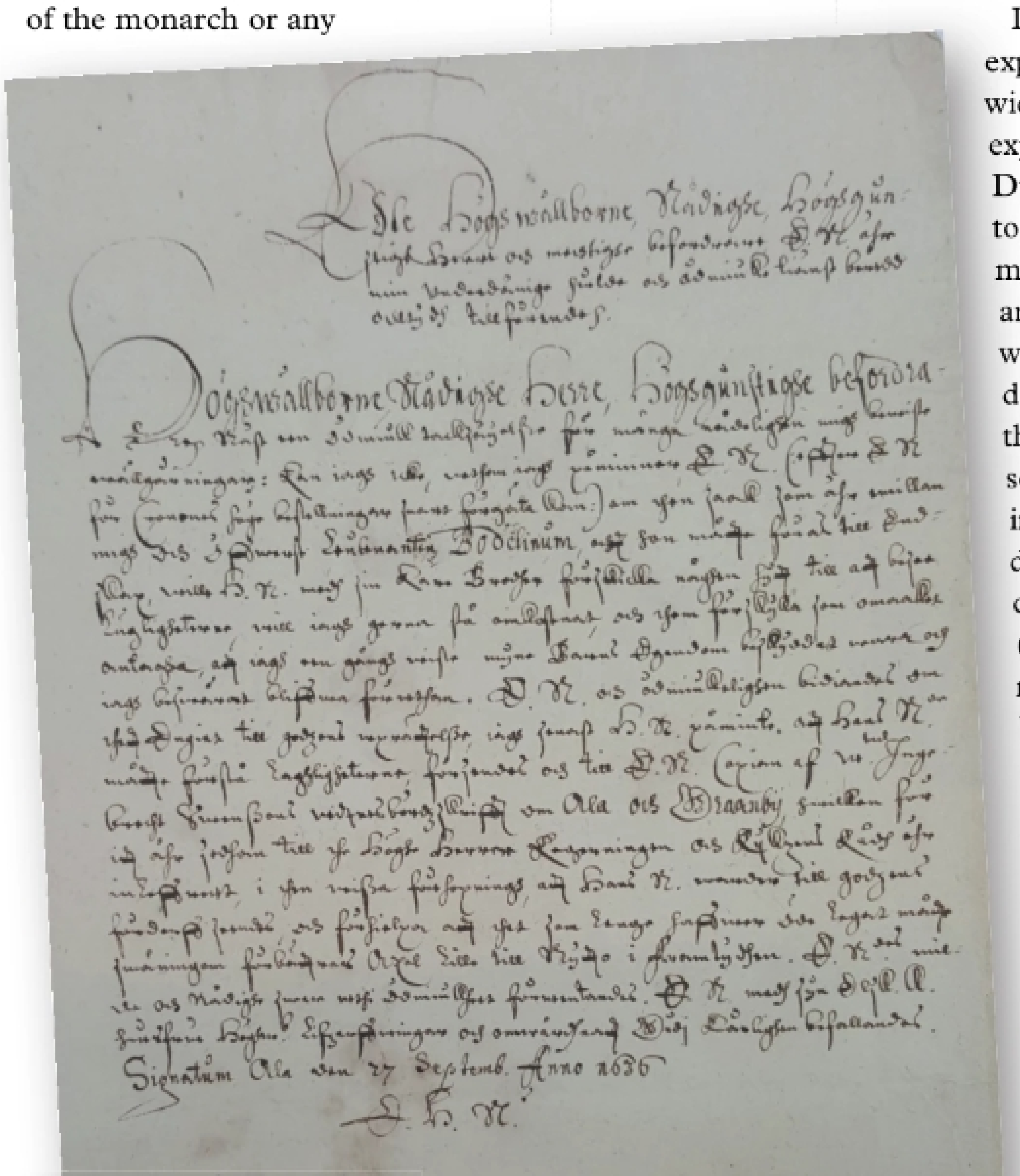
Anna Kilpatrick, widow of Colonel Robert Henderson, faced similar problems when the council hesitated to grant her pension request. She was initially only allowed three months of her husband's pay, and only as Henderson had apparently behaved particularly fearlessly in battle. It was only after King James VI and members of the Scottish privy council became involved that Kilpatrick was awarded an annual sum of 300 (later 500) guilders. However, her subsequent petition for the transfer of her pension onto her children after her death was not upheld.

Not all interventions were immediately successful, regardless of the credentials of those who

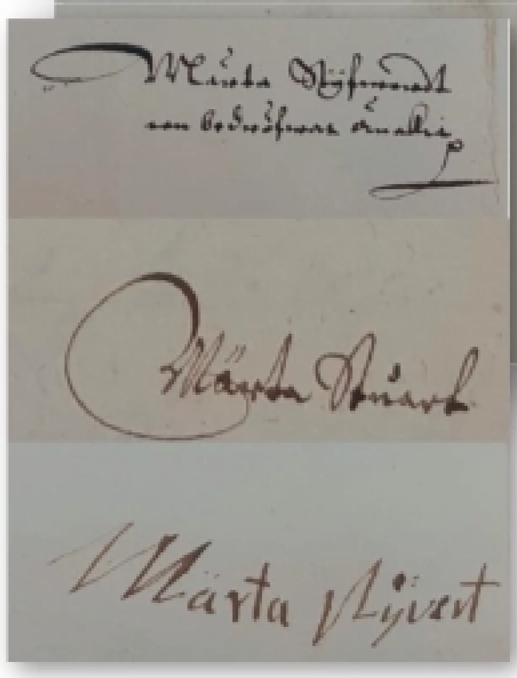
Some soldiers' widows could reply on help from local civic authorities or even interventions by their own monarch, particularly if the men died in the king's service

supported the petition. In May 1632, King Charles I requested the payment of a sum of 1,490 guilders owed to Captain Ramsey's widow. The matter was deferred to the council of state, though no conclusion was reached at that point. It seems that even the interventions of monarchs was not always enough to secure either back wages, compensation, or pensions for those men who had died in overseas service.

Other widows in the Dutch Republic did not have the support of the monarch or any other man of higher social status and therefore had to rely on their own agency. For example, from May 1631 Christina Boswell, the widow of Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Coutts, petitioned the council of state several times with moderate success, as she only achieved one-off, irregular payments but no lifelong pension, leaving her in a precarious position. The same is true for other widows whose cases were delayed by the Dutch authorities with the clear aim of deterring the petitioners.



Extract from a typical letter from Margaret Forrat to Chancellor Oxenstierna



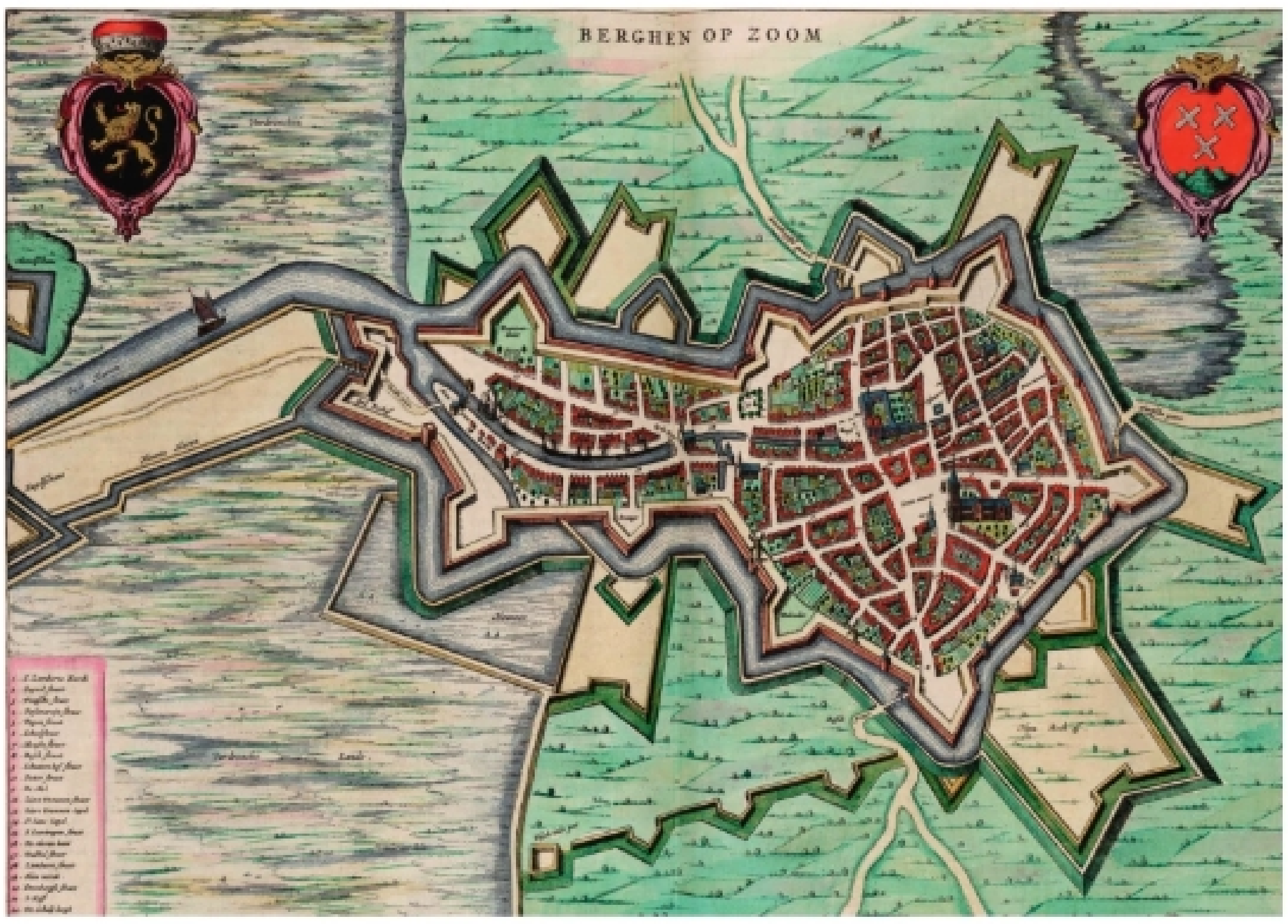
Inset: a composite of Martha Stuart signatures, pertinent to her literacy

Despite the problems experienced by the widows, there was a clear expectation that the Dutch authorities were to provide some form of monetary compensation and support. In Sweden, widows were in a different position as the reward for military service generally came in the form of land donations issued by the crown. These donations (which were located not only within Sweden but also in newly-acquired territories within the Holy Roman Empire) were bound to the defence and maintenance of the land. Therefore it was in the interest of the Swedish crown to recover the donations when a male landholder died. However, institutions such as the Swedish *Riksråd* (council of the realm) recognised the plight of the bereaved families and sought to implement measures to alleviate their fate. For instance, the Riksråd altered an existing policy to allow the widow of the recipient of a land donation to maintain the property so long as she did not remarry. Nevertheless, there were drawbacks to this decision: if the widow had not been mentioned in the original land donation, the land reverted to the crown immediately, leaving the widows with little recourse to benefit from it.

Agency through social networks

In view of the unreliable institutional support in the Dutch Republic and in Sweden, some widows looked for alternative sources of support by drawing on social networks established by themselves and/or their late husbands. For example, Catherine Murray, wife of Colonel Thomas Thomson, corresponded with Chancellor Oxenstierna long before her husband's death. After petitioning Oxenstierna, Murray received a confirmation of her estates in Vrana and Munkevrak, not least due to her long-standing connection with the highest members of the Swedish military and administrative leadership.

Isobel Spens also petitioned Oxenstierna for reimbursement of her husband's service. Her case is especially interesting as she moved from St Andrews to Sweden in the mid-1640s to strengthen her claim. The relocation certainly aided her success: her son David was granted several farms under the condition that Isobel was to hold these in her possession until her death. Isobel's petition was also helped by the fact that her stepmother, Margaret Forrat, was especially well connected to Axel Oxenstierna, and that she was the daughter of the ambassador and general, Sir James Spens. After Spens's death, Margaret maintained influence in her own right. Having been made their guardian in Spens's will, Axel Oxenstierna used his influence to help her sons and their half-brother Colonel William Spens were elevated to the Swedish house of nobility (*Riddarhuset*). He did so through a special dispensation from the crown which even allowed for their continued adherence to calvinism, something quite uncommon and very controversial at the time. Oxenstierna also helped Margaret



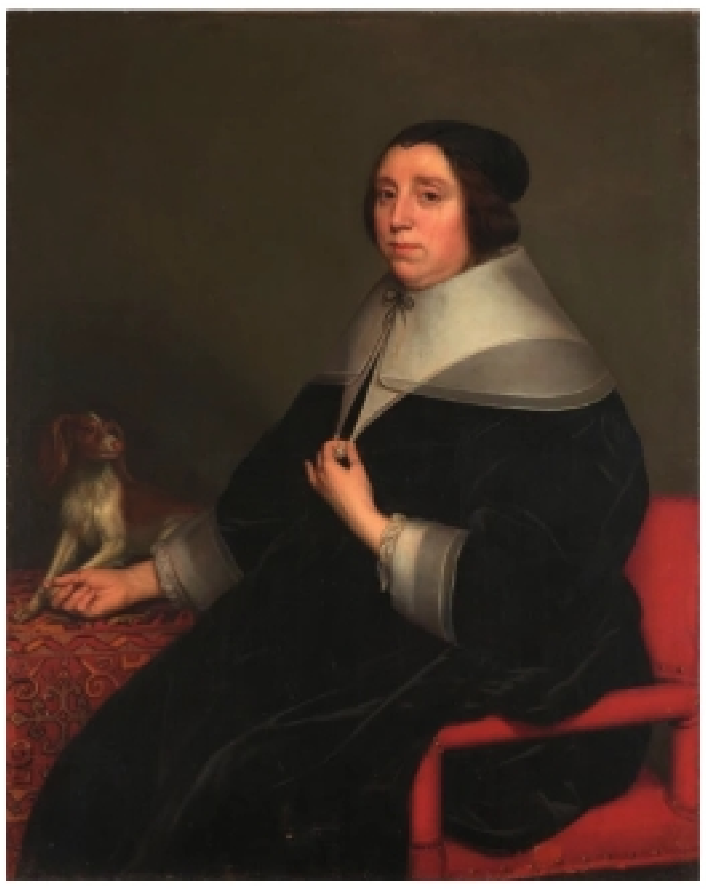
Blaeu map of Bergen op Zoom, location of the siege of 1622 in which so many Scottish soldiers lost their lives

to gain some financial assistance and protected her estates after she married her second husband, Colonel Hugo Hamilton, in 1637. After her immediate financial difficulties were resolved, Margaret continued her correspondence with Oxenstierna, even serving as a conduit between Hamilton and the regency government. In a move that revealed the extent of Margaret's agency with the chancellor, we find her passing on information from Hamilton in regard to diplomatic meetings and even military intelligence. Margaret Forrat's correspondence reveals a woman comfortable with her elevated status: she commanded respect from senior officials in the Swedish government, could successfully activate kith, kin and friendship networks to gain advantage for her children, and intercede for her husband who, though a full colonel in the Swedish army, was clearly not so well connected as she. This daughter of a 'middling sort' family from Fife died in 1653 and was given a full state funeral at Riddarholm church in Stockholm – final resting place of many Swedish kings.

Although a state funeral for a Scottish widow was certainly unusual and indicative of the exceptional importance of Margaret's first husband, Sir James Spens, we find a number of Scottish widows who were equally well connected to the Swedish military leadership. Another important example derives from Martha 'Hansdotter' Stuart who was born in Scotland the daughter of John Stuart and Brita Soop. After moving to Sweden, she married a French lieutenant-colonel, Anton Ydron, but was widowed in 1632. Her first surviving letter to Oxenstierna contains a 'typical' petition highlighting her husband's long and loyal service of 26 years, followed by a request for help in alleviating the pressures of her widowhood. Martha maintained her contacts with the Swedish chancellor over several years and Oxenstierna acted as a patron to her and her family on several occasions. After her husband's death, Martha was entitled to some of the family estates and in addition received royal donations. In 1648, Oxenstierna recommended her to the Swedish local official Johan Berndes, stating that she should receive payment for some of her husband's possessions which had been illegally taken by a Captain Ferret. Martha also sought Oxenstierna's help in regard to one of her sons who was joining the Swedish army. This was a common form of relief granted to a widow, and it must have been a very testing one to endure. Having lost a husband to the wars, the widow was given the privilege of having her son enter the army as a form of compensation; his pay being expected to help contribute to the family income and her upkeep thereafter.

In Martha Stuart's case, her son was apparently unable to pay for a horse and therefore she implored Oxenstierna to confer with her countryman, General Robert Douglas, to equip her son until he was able to repay him. She further requested that Douglas stand as guarantor for any ransom for her son should he become a captive. Persistent in pressing her family's fortunes, Martha later successfully petitioned the chancellor to assist her sons to become ennobled and introduced into *Riddarhuset*. Whilst Martha's initial connection to Oxenstierna was established through her husband, she was clearly able to be recognised in her own right and to keep the ear and direct support of the most powerful man in Sweden and – through him – senior members of the Scottish military community, including General Robert Douglas. This was not least through the fact that Martha was not solely a Scottish widow looking for support, but also a local estate-holder and Oxenstierna's neighbour: she lived and farmed on the island of Almö, situated in lake Mälaren, while Oxenstierna resided 'next door', slightly to the south-west at Tidö Slott. This also explains why Martha Stuart's later letters to Oxenstierna deal with agricultural questions and requests rather than ongoing claims for financial compensation. She was simply writing to a neighbour, but one who happened to be the chancellor of Sweden.

Whereas for some widows linkages with Oxenstierna and other members of the Swedish military and administrative leadership were crucial, it has to be noted that others relied on wider Scottish kith and kin networks. For example, in the late 1640s Isobel Forbes petitioned her relative Colonel William Forbes as she could not maintain her family which at this point included the children on one Captain Pringle, whose wife had been killed by a cannon ball. Isobel had received some remuneration from the Swedish general, Lennart Torstensson, but this had been interrupted for some time. William Forbes took Isobel's request for



Widows were no different to Scottish soldiers in the way they petitioned for aid

What is interesting is that by petitioning Swedish military leaders, these Scottish women were not behaving any differently to soldiers afflicted by temporary hardship

help further up the extended kinship hierarchy to General Arvid Forbes in order to assist his relative.

Governesses of their own fate?

The examples of Scottish widows considered here challenge some of the previous assumptions made concerning the fate of early modern war widows. Whilst the death of their soldering husbands certainly brought hardship and difficulties, the women for whom we have records were by no means helpless victims, but could rely on extended networks even if and when institutional support failed.

These linkages were activated and maintained through the widows' own correspondence which took the form of letters and petitions. What is interesting is that by petitioning Swedish military leaders, these Scottish women were not behaving any differently to soldiers afflicted by temporary hardship. When comparing documents from female and male petitioners it is striking that both utilised the same codes and techniques drawing on their origin, their family linkages and their own or their husbands' long and enduring service. After all, the Swedish chancery was a large institution. Widows, like soldiers, needed to identify themselves to the recipient of their letter, which though addressed to the chancellor, would doubtless be opened by one of his secretaries who needed to know how to prioritise it. Oxenstierna himself simply could not have read everything directed to him, so clues had to be given to his office. What has previously been taken as pleading (or even begging) a case based on the longevity of service of an individual was simply a means of quickly identifying who the sender was and what the petitioner actually wanted. The rubric used on the pension or back pay claims is directly comparable regardless of the sender's gender. The widows' letters we have identified seldom beg, but rather assert why they are entitled to what was rightfully owed to them. Margaret Forrat's letters are the exemplary case in this regard.

Whether in Scotland or abroad, women managed farms or businesses while their husbands were away fighting in the wars so, despite personal bereavement, they often simply continued in their previous roles. Existing scholarship has already proven that mechanisms were in place to ensure the welfare and legal rights of bereaved wives in Scotland and abroad. Delia Butler's case shows that the Dutch were prepared to finance her passage home to Scotland where local institutions could look after her. Isobel Spens, on the other hand, made the journey to Sweden from Scotland. Her case and that of Martha Stuart demonstrate that some women continued to develop their economic fortunes long after the death of their husbands, taking either state-sponsored pensions or land in lieu of payment and building upon them. Whilst many widows remarried to secure their livelihoods, these widows preferred to live their lives on their own terms and without recourse to remarriage. Scrutiny of their correspondence is revealing so much about the lives of the women of the Thirty Years' War, Scottish or otherwise.

Steve Murdoch is professor of History at the University of St Andrews. He researches early modern Scottish interactions with northern Europe. He specialises in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the evolution of international maritime law (1513-1713).

Dr Kathrin Zickermann is a lecturer in History at the University of the Highlands and Islands with a particular interest in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). Apart from her analysis of the conflict's impact on Scottish widows, she is working on a project on the diplomat and war commissioner Alexander Erskein who was born to Scottish parents in the Pomeranian town of Greifswald and undertook a remarkable career in Swedish service.

FURTHER READING

An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569-1654 (Leiden, 2003), A. Grosjean

Women, Armies and Warfare in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, 2008), J. Lynn

'Women in Campaigns 1550-1850. Household and Homosociality in the Swedish army', *The History of the Family* 16/3 (2011), 204-216, M. Sjöberg

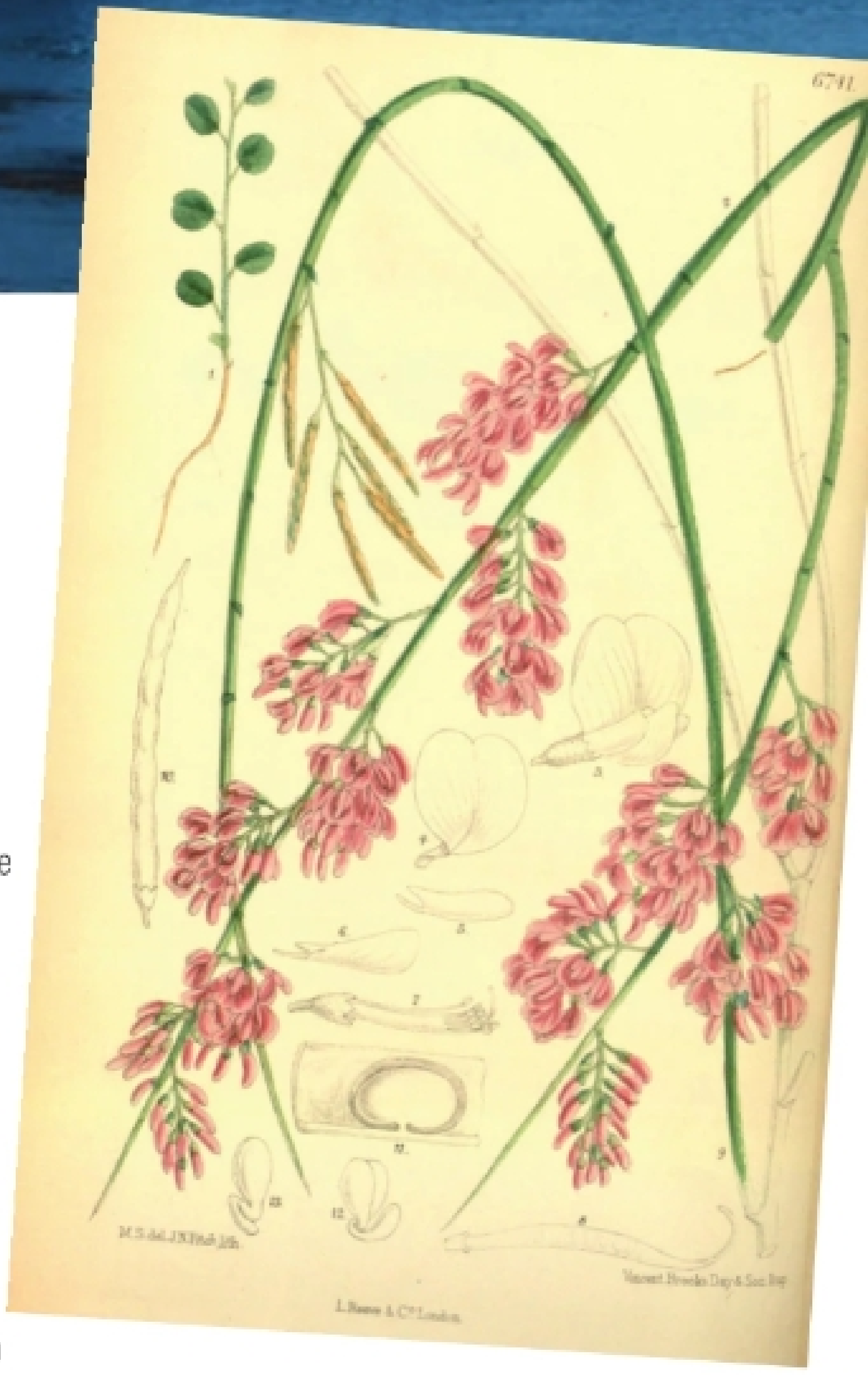
'Scottish Women and the Scandinavian Wars of the Seventeenth Century', *Northern Studies*, 40 (2007), 102-27, S. Talbott

'Supplicants and Guardians: The Petitions of Royalist Widows during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1642-1660', *Women's History Review,* 26 (2017), 528-40, H. Worthen

DUGALD CARMICHAEL: FROM SCHOOLBOY NATURALIST TO ISLAND EXPLORER

Dr Robert Hay explores the life of soldier, explorer and naturalist Dugald Carmichael, a modest man whose contributions to natural science have largely been forgotten, even on his native Isle of Lismore

The shore at Ardtur, Appin, with Castle Stalker and the Carmichael's native isle of Lismore in the background



Carmichaelia carmichaeliae as Notospartium carmichaeliae, one of the 25 species of New Zealand broom named after Carmichael

Dugald Carmichael (1772-1827) was an eminent naturalist and explorer, consulted and cited by the leading natural scientists of his day. He made lasting contributions to the understanding of topics ranging from the formation of coral reefs and island biogeography, to the systematic recording of British algae and fungi. However, a modest man, engrossed in his studies, he has been almost forgotten, even on his native island.

Carmichael was born in August 1772 on the isle of Lismore, where his father was a small tenant farmer. Carmichael family lore, as retold in his obituary, describes him as a solitary boy, inspired by the nature of Lismore. It is said that his later talents as a biological illustrator began early, with experiments on the use of natural pigments, not least his own blood. It is likely that his abilities were recognised by the parish minister Reverend Donald McNicol, the leading Gaelic scholar of his day, because he was able to matriculate at Glasgow University in the Greek class of 1787, at fifteen, the normal age at that time. He did not graduate from Glasgow, instead moving on to study medicine at Edinburgh University in 1792. Here, he would have been influenced by the professor of natural history, John Walker (1731-1803), a leading authority on the emerging discipline of geology, and other outstanding scientists, including the professor of chemistry, Joseph Black (1728-99), and the professor of botany and keeper of the Botanic Gardens, Daniel Rutherford (1749-1819).

Overseas commission

Britain was at war with France from 1793 and, to release regular army regiments for service overseas, the government revived local militias for home defence. By 1796, Dugald Carmichael had enlisted in the Argyll fencibles, who were posted to Ireland to help in dealing with a serious rebellion, and the threat of invasion by the French. Although there is no record of the award of a degree from Edinburgh, two or three years of study of medicine appear to have been sufficient to qualify him as assistant surgeon in a militia regiment.

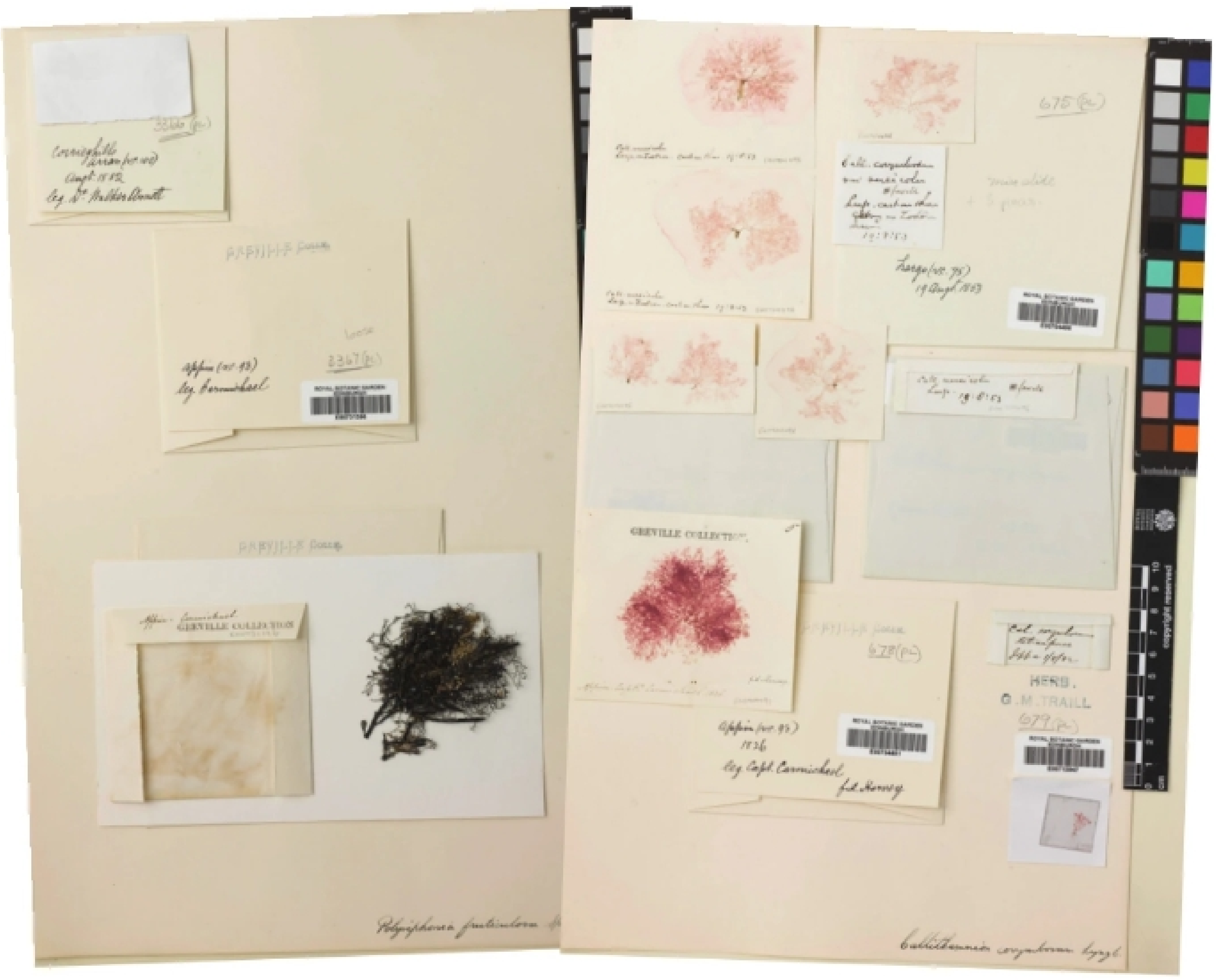
Carmichael's years in Ireland were decisive in his development as a scientist because of the influence of his fellow militiaman Robert Brown (1773-1858). Brown was shortly to be selected as the botanist on Matthew Flinders' voyage to survey the coast of Australia (1801-05); and he later became the botanical keeper of the British Museum, as well as an accomplished laboratory scientist, discovering the cell nucleus and 'Brownian Motion'.

Brown inspired Carmichael to take the opportunities that military service offered to join the growing band of naturalists exploring the biodiversity of exotic places overseas. Transferring from the militia around 1800, Carmichael took up a commission as ensign in the regular army (the 72nd regiment of foot, later to form part of the Seaforth Highlanders), and was promoted to lieutenant in 1804.

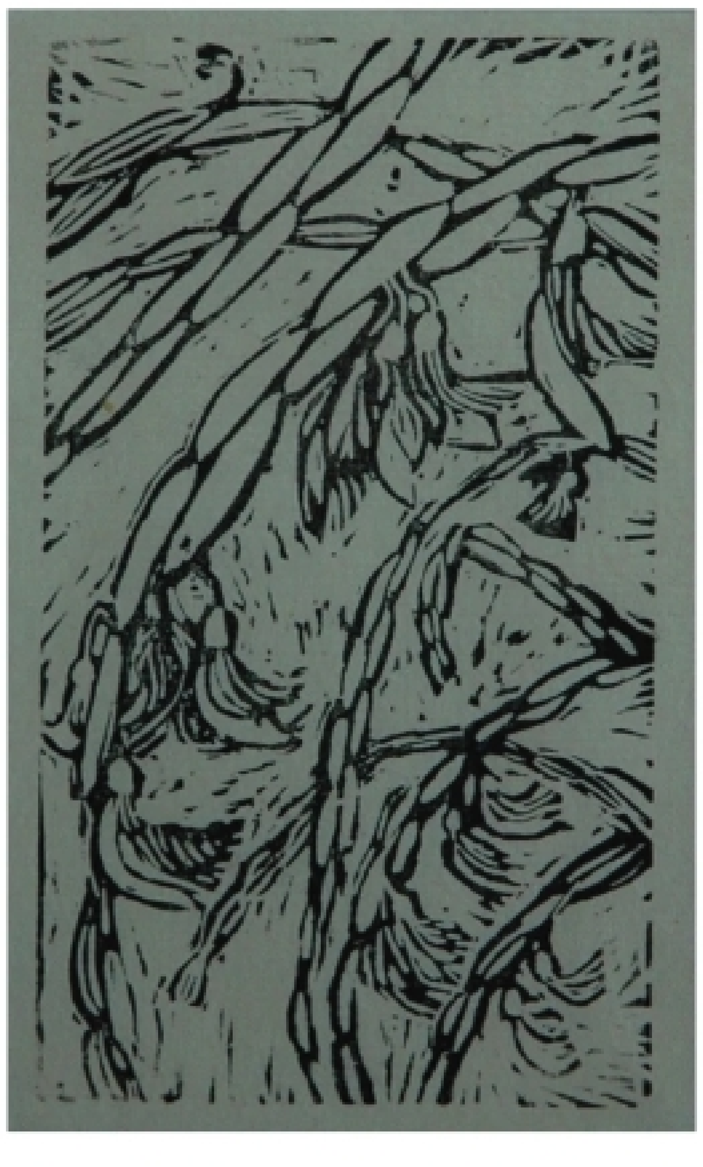
The French navy posed a serious threat to the lucrative East India trade, from the Cape of Good Hope (occupied by the Batavian Republic

– the Netherlands – then a client state of Napoleonic France) as well as from their bases in Mauritius and Réunion. Over the years 1806 to 1814, Carmichael took part in amphibious campaigns to occupy and neutralise the Cape and the Indian Ocean Islands, and in subsequent garrison duties. From 1807 to 1810, he was a volunteer member of the outpost of 100 soldiers at Algoa Bay, Eastern Cape (near modern Port Elizabeth). This gave him the opportunity for many excursions, recording geology, flora and fauna (notably fish), as well as the human society he encountered, in detailed journals. These were published in the leading British botanical journal of the day (*The Botanical Miscellany*), and they can be accessed today on the internet. In these years he was in an unfamiliar environment and, although it had been explored by earlier naturalists, he was able to make original observations and collections, and develop the skills that prepared him for later island explorations.

The 72nd took part in the capture of Mauritius in December 1810, and remained there as garrison troops for the next three years. Carmichael took the opportunity to master the flora and fauna of the islands, travelling widely, including a period of leave of absence in 1813 (the year he was promoted to captain) for an excursion to the neighbouring island of Réunion. He gave space in his journal to a discussion of the cash crops (sugar, coffee, cloves and cotton), the staples (maize, cassava and rice), the many tropical fruits, as well as the native flora and fauna.



Two of Carmichael's herbarium sheets of British seaweeds from the Royal Botanic Gardens Edinburgh. *Callithamnion corymbosum* (http://data.rbge.org.uk/herb/E00704491 collected Appin 1826); *Boergenseniella fruticulosa* (http://data.rbge.org.uk/herb/E00731390 collected Appin, at that time called *Polysiphonia fruticulosa*) © Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh



Wood engraving 48 showing *Carmichaelia Williamsii* or New Zealand broom

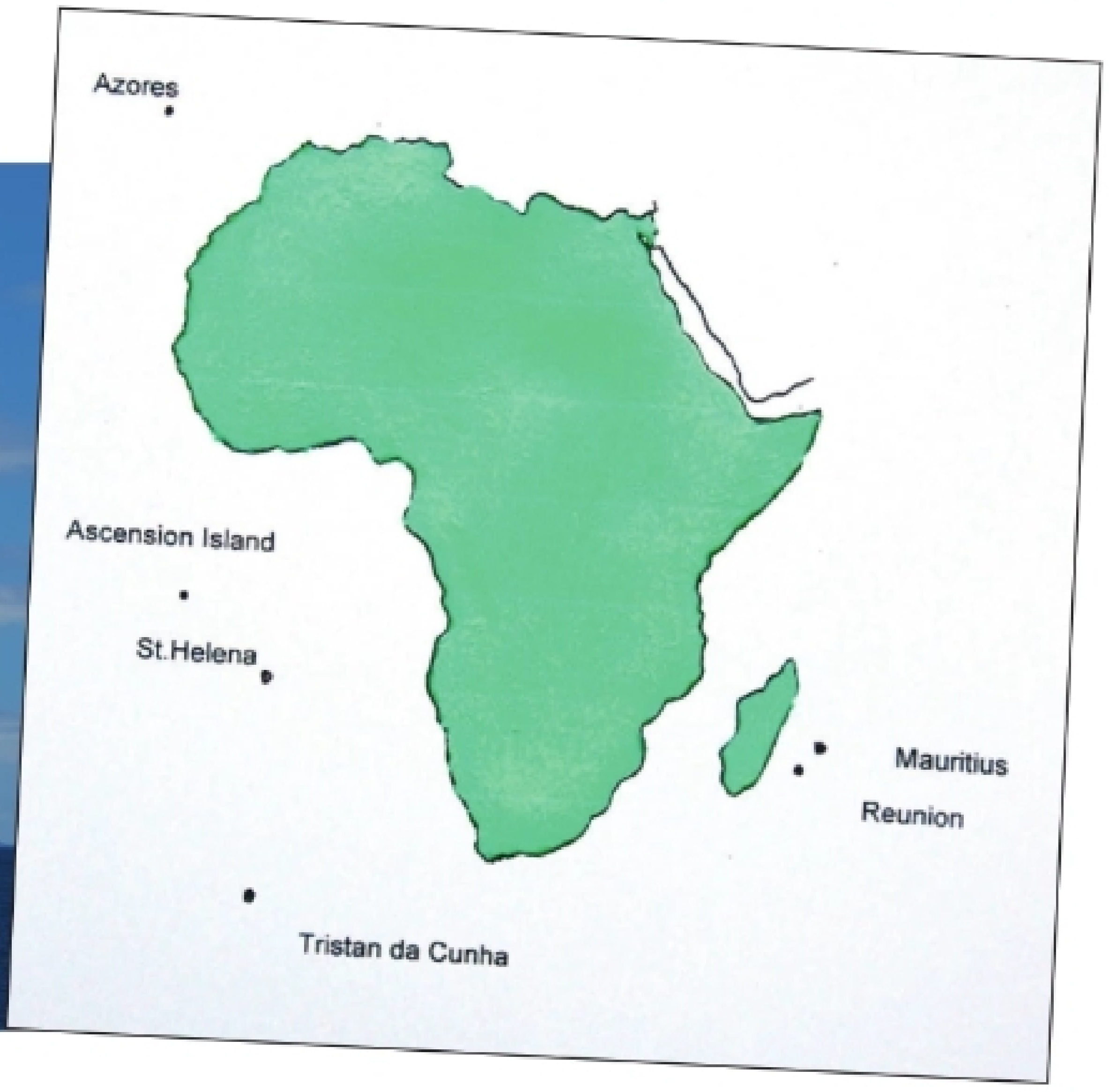
His collection of new plant species can be seen in the herbarium of the Royal Botanic Garden, Kew. At the same time, he was also giving a great deal of thought to the geological controversies of the day: coming out in support of James Hutton's theory of uniformitarianism (the foundation of modern geology) and attempting to understand how lava flows led to different landforms (particularly on Réunion). His pioneering theory about the formation of coral reefs, arising out of observations of the coasts of the two islands, is cited by Charles Darwin in his study of coral reefs.

Island biogeography

The 72nd returned to garrison duty in South Africa in 1814 after a short spell of duty in India. The decision by the British government to claim the remote island of Tristan da Cunha in the South Atlantic then gave Carmichael the opportunity, at last, to record an uninhabited and relatively unexplored area. Tristan da Cunha was important in the study of what would now be called island biogeography. As a very isolated land mass, it had few terrestrial species, and the birds and animals generally showed no fear of man. He recorded only three species of land birds, two mammals (sea lions and seals), no reptiles and few insects.

However, the island had a wide range of aquatic birds, including penguins and a large population of albatrosses. The coast offered him a rich seaweed flora and he was able to describe and draw four new species of fish. In contrast, he found the island botanically uninteresting, listing details of only 55 species; by this time he was an experienced natural scientist, up-to-date with the scientific literature, and aware of the recent pioneering work of the French botanist Louis Thouars on islands in the Atlantic and Indian oceans. His report gives a very full account of the topography, geology, meteorology and vegetation of the island, and what was probably the first documented ascent of the central volcano (2,062m), including a descent into the crater (although it was quiescent at that time, a major eruption in 1961 caused the evacuation of the island).

On his return from Tristan da Cunha in 1817, Carmichael, now aged 45, with more than 20 years of army service, and on half pay, returned to the UK with the rank of captain. On the voyage home, he managed to fit in botanising trips on St Helena (where Bonaparte was held), Ascension Island and the Azores. For the next three years, he lodged at Dunntannachan farm, near Oban, with his sister Margaret and her husband Duncan



Clarke, who had been a fellow student in classics at Glasgow University. In 1820, still unmarried, he took the tenancy of Ardtur in Appin, where he died in 1827. These years in Argyll were taken up not only with the journals and collections from overseas but also with an intensive study of the flora of Argyll, particularly the (then) neglected field of cryptogamic botany (the study of algae, lichens, mosses, ferns and fungi). His unpublished *Algae Appinenses* was widely cited in the first cataloguing of the British algal flora.

Tristan da Cunha, the south Atlantic island group where Carmichael recorded what was an uninhabitated and relatively unexplored area

Islands visited by Dugald Carmichael

Back in Scotland

Elected a fellow of the prestigious Linnaean Society of London in 1818, but wishing to live a quiet life at home, he kept contact by correspondence with the leading botanists of his time, notably Miles Joseph Berkeley (1803-1889), the pioneer of studies of fungi and plant pathology, and Sir William Jackson Hooker (1785-1865), professor of botany at Glasgow University, later Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Hooker had a great regard for Carmichael, taking opportunities to bring his Glasgow students to Appin on summer excursions. In his obituary, Hooker wrote:

> *…the Algae constituted his favourite pursuit. Conveniently situated in respect to the sea, the little farm of Ardtur, which he has rendered well known in the British Flora, possessed a shore of about one-third of a mile in extent, which is varied with occasional rocks and small islands, where the tide flows rapidly, but is generally smooth, with a gentle declivity towards the deep. There is thus a considerable extent of shore left dry by the ebbing of the tide and a favourable field opened to the Algeologist… Capt. Carmichael applied himself to the study of marine plants with the utmost devotedness. Every day found him watching the receding of the tide, and he continued for several years examining the stations which he had searched times without number before, and that with as much minuteness as if they had been new to him… He never wandered beyond the limits of his little farm.*

It is highly likely that his habit of coming home with his samples and studying them, still in wet clothes, led to his relatively early death at 55.

After his death, Robert Brown named 25 species of New Zealand brooms (the *Carmichaelia*) in his honour. This has led to the mistaken impression that Carmichael travelled and botanised in New Zealand.

Although Dugald Carmichael has been largely forgotten in his home area and in the world of science, it is important to realise that he was only one of a long line of Scottish naval or military surgeon naturalists who were active as botanists and plant hunters in the 18th and early 19th centuries, and most of these have also drifted into obscurity. Leading players, in addition to Robert Brown, include William Anderson, a surgeon on James Cook's second and third voyages; Archibald Menzies, a naturalist on HM *Discovery*'s Vancouver expedition in 1790; and William Jack, a botanist employed by Stamford Raffles on Sumatra.

A lasting legacy

Carmichael's published work and collections (in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew and Edinburgh, the British Museum, and the University of St Andrews), show that Carmichael played no small part, in active collaboration with many others, in the exploration of the biodiversity of our planet. During the decades following his death, the accumulation of knowledge by these botanists and plant hunters, and especially the records from isolated islands, contributed to the development of modern theories of evolution by Darwin and Wallace. Carmichael's journals show that he was not only a diligent botanist but also active in observing and recording the natural world as a whole (including animals, birds and fish) and puzzling over the geology of each new environment. He has a particular place in the development of marine biology as a result of his painstaking studies of temperate seaweeds.

By Dr Robert Hay.

FURTHER READING

A more complete account of Carmichael's life, including extracts from his journals and a list of his collections can be found in Volume 49 (2019) of the Appin Archive: *www.appinhistoricalsociety.co.uk*

Explore Carmichael's work in the *Botanical Miscellany Journal* at: https://scot.sh/botanical

NEW ANALYSIS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON LETTER REVEALS US-SCOTLAND CONNECTIONS

Fresh analysis of a handwritten text – sent to a Scottish nobleman to encourage recruitment of skilled workers to US president George Washington's estate – underlines how seriously he took his duties as a landowner and farmer

The analysis has been carried out by historians and archivists at the University of Edinburgh and staff based at the Washington estate at Mount Vernon, Virginia. Close inspection reveals that the letter was written by Washington himself, rather than by his private secretary, an indication of the president's desire to recruit wisely and a sign of his commitment to his business concerns. The document, written on 20 February 1796, is in the archives of the University of Edinburgh.

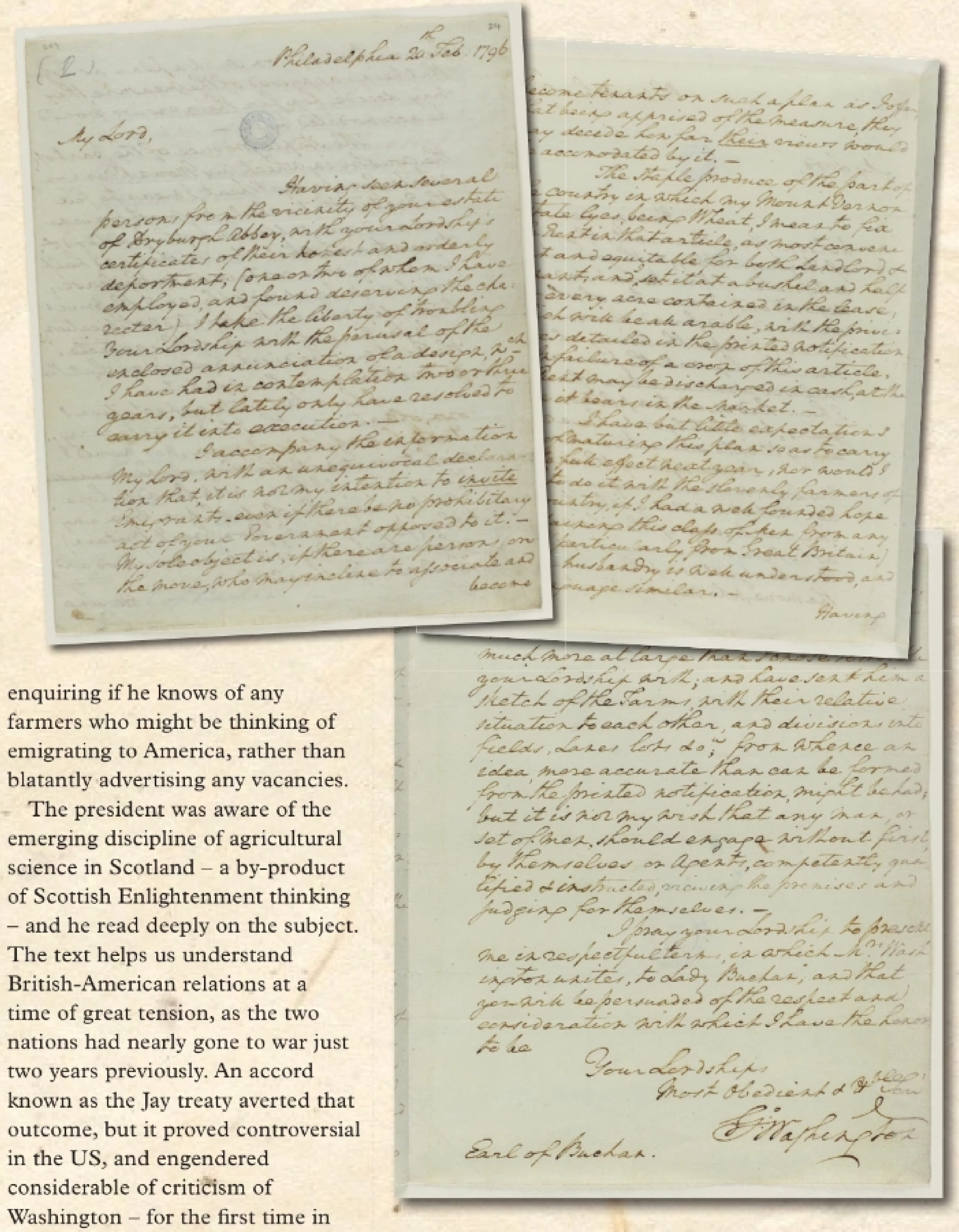
Experts at Edinburgh will now re-assess further examples of 18th-century transatlantic discourse held in the archive, helping researchers build a clearer picture of British-US relations at the time. The letter to David Erskine, 11th earl of Buchan, reveals information about Washington as a landowner. In 1796, he was seeking to diversify his holdings, focus on growing wheat – rather than tobacco, which he had abandoned in the 1760s – and move from enslaved labour to tenant farmers.

It shows a hard-headed businessman, planning for life after the presidency, which he would leave the following year. Its phrasing suggests that he still feels a close cultural connection to at least some people in Britain, and to British agriculture.

Washington is careful in his letter not to upset fragile relations between Britain and America, who would go to war for a second time in 1812 when the US found itself caught between Britain and revolutionary France. He adopts a gentle approach with Buchan, enquiring if he knows of any farmers who might be thinking of emigrating to America, rather than blatantly advertising any vacancies.

The president was aware of the emerging discipline of agricultural science in Scotland – a by-product of Scottish Enlightenment thinking – and he read deeply on the subject. The text helps us understand British-American relations at a time of great tension, as the two nations had nearly gone to war just two years previously. An accord known as the Jay treaty averted that outcome, but it proved controversial in the US, and engendered considerable of criticism of Washington – for the first time in his political career.

Frank Cogliano, professor of American History at the University of Edinburgh, said: 'The Enlightenment is often referred to as a "Republic of Letters" and exchanges such as those between Washington and Buchan were the social networks of their day – not only swapping ideas but advertising opportunities. How familiar it seems to us today'.



(2)

Philadelphia 20th Feb. 1796

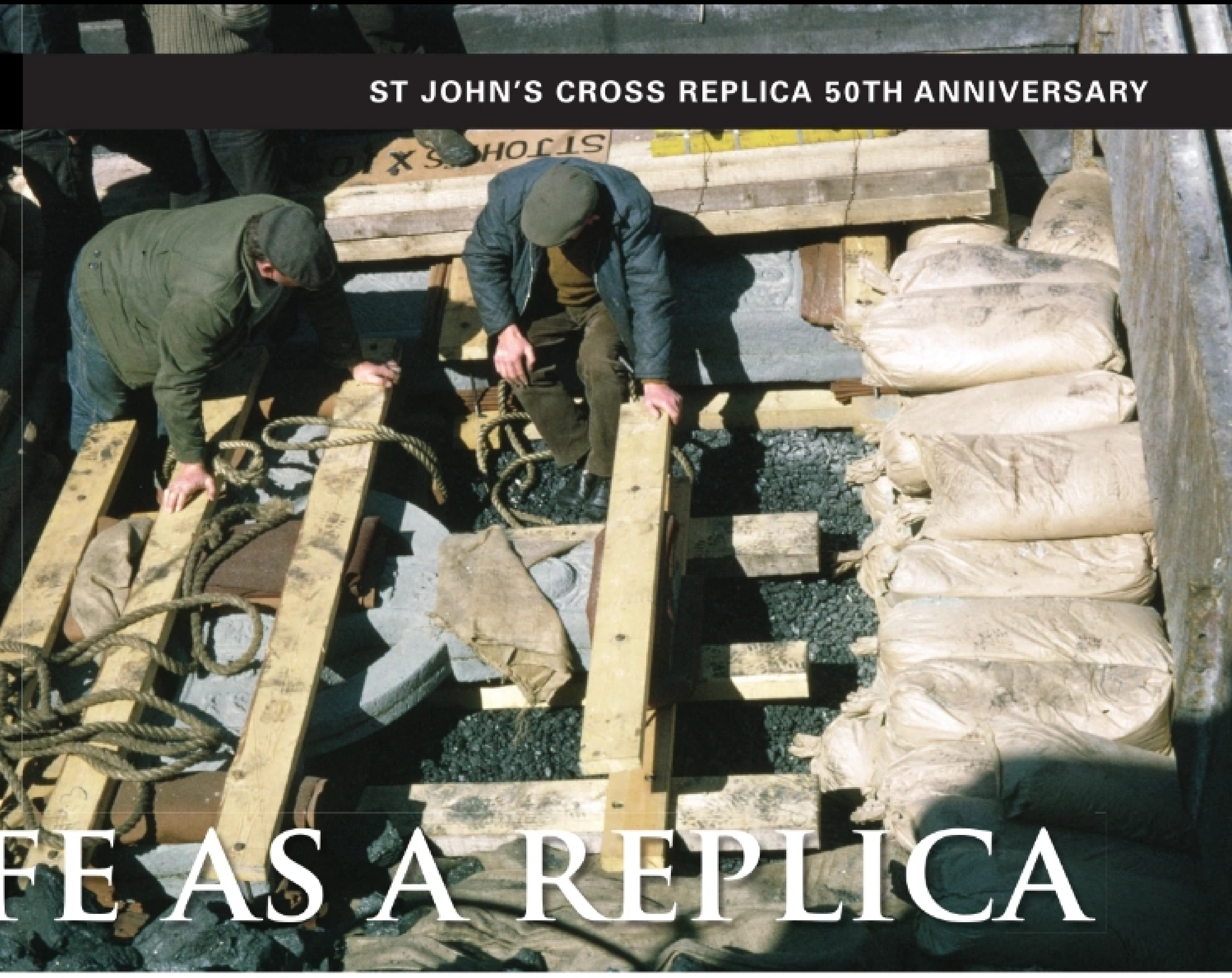
My Lord,

Having seen several
persons from the vicinity of your estate
of Dryburgh Abbey, with your Lordship's
certificates of their honest and orderly
deportment, (one or two of whom I have
employed, and found deserving the cha-
racter) I take the liberty of troubling
Your Lordship with the perusal of the
enclosed annunciation of a design, which
I have had in contemplation two or three
years, but lately only have resolved to
carry it into execution.—
I accompany the information
My Lord, with an unequivocal declara-
tion that, it is not my intention to invite
Emigrants, even if there be no prohibitary
act of your Government opposed to it.—
My sole object is, if there are persons, on
the move, who may incline to associate and
become

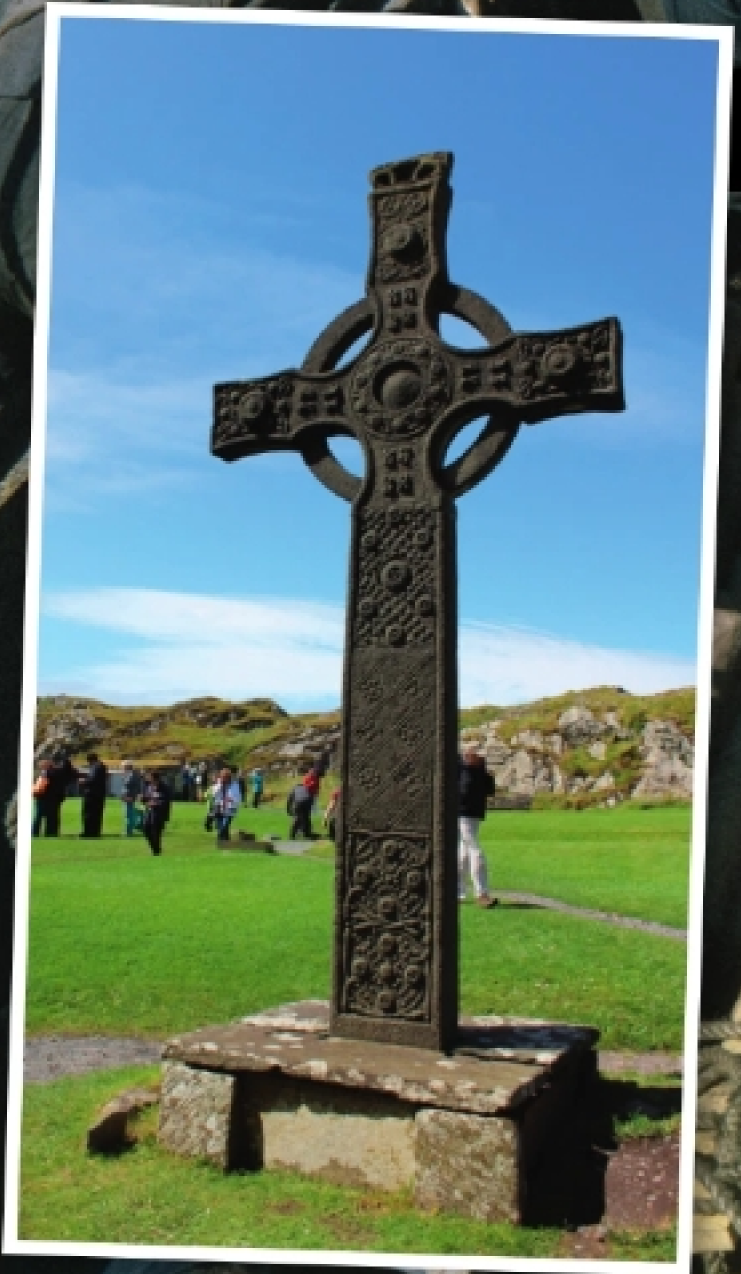
ecome tenants on such a plan as I pro-
at being apprised of the measure, they
ay decide how far their views would
accomodated by it.—
The staple produce of the part of
country in which my Mount Vernon
tate lyes, being Wheat, I mean to fix
Rent in that article, as most conven-
t and equitable for both Landlord &
ant; and, set it at a bushel and half
every acre contained in the lease,
ch will be all arable, with the prive-
s detailed in the printed notification
failure of a crop of this article,
ent may be discharged in cash, at the
at bears in the market.—
I have but little expectation
maturing this plan so as to carry
full effect next year; nor would I
to do it with the slovenly farmers of
untry, if I had a well founded hope
getting this class of them from any
particularly from Great Britain)
husbandry is well understood, and
usage similar.—
Having

much more at large than
your Lordship with; and have sent him a
sketch of the Farms, with their relative
situation to each other, and divisions into
fields, Lanes, lots &c.; from whence an
idea more accurate than can be formed
from the printed notification, might be had;
but it is not my wish that any man, or
set of men, should engage without first,
by themselves or Agents, competently qua-
lified & instructed, viewing the premises and
judging for themselves.—
I pray your Lordship to present
me in respectful terms, in which Mrs Wash-
ington unites, to Lady Buchan; and that
you will be persuaded of the respect and
consideration with which I have the honor
to be
Your Lordships
Most Obedient & Hble Servt
G Washington
Earl of Buchan.

The letter was written on 20 February 1796 and sent by Washington to David Erskine, 11th earl of Buchan



The concrete replica arrives at Iona, on top of the island's annual delivery of coal



The replica is enjoyed by visitors year-round

MY LIFE AS A REPLICA

Dr Sally Foster and **Professor Siân Jones** introduce pioneering research focusing on the rich social lives of replicas, through a study of the 8th-century St John's Cross, Iona, and its copies

'heaven in ordinarie' […] It's a base material, it's a beautiful object. On one level it's a replica, and on another level it's totally the real deal. On one level it speaks less powerfully because it's not the original stone, hand carved with mediaeval tools, but on another level, it's an expression of another kind of workmanship, and of a transmutation of that eternal truth, from the 9th century through to the 20th century (Gertrude, a recent Iona resident)

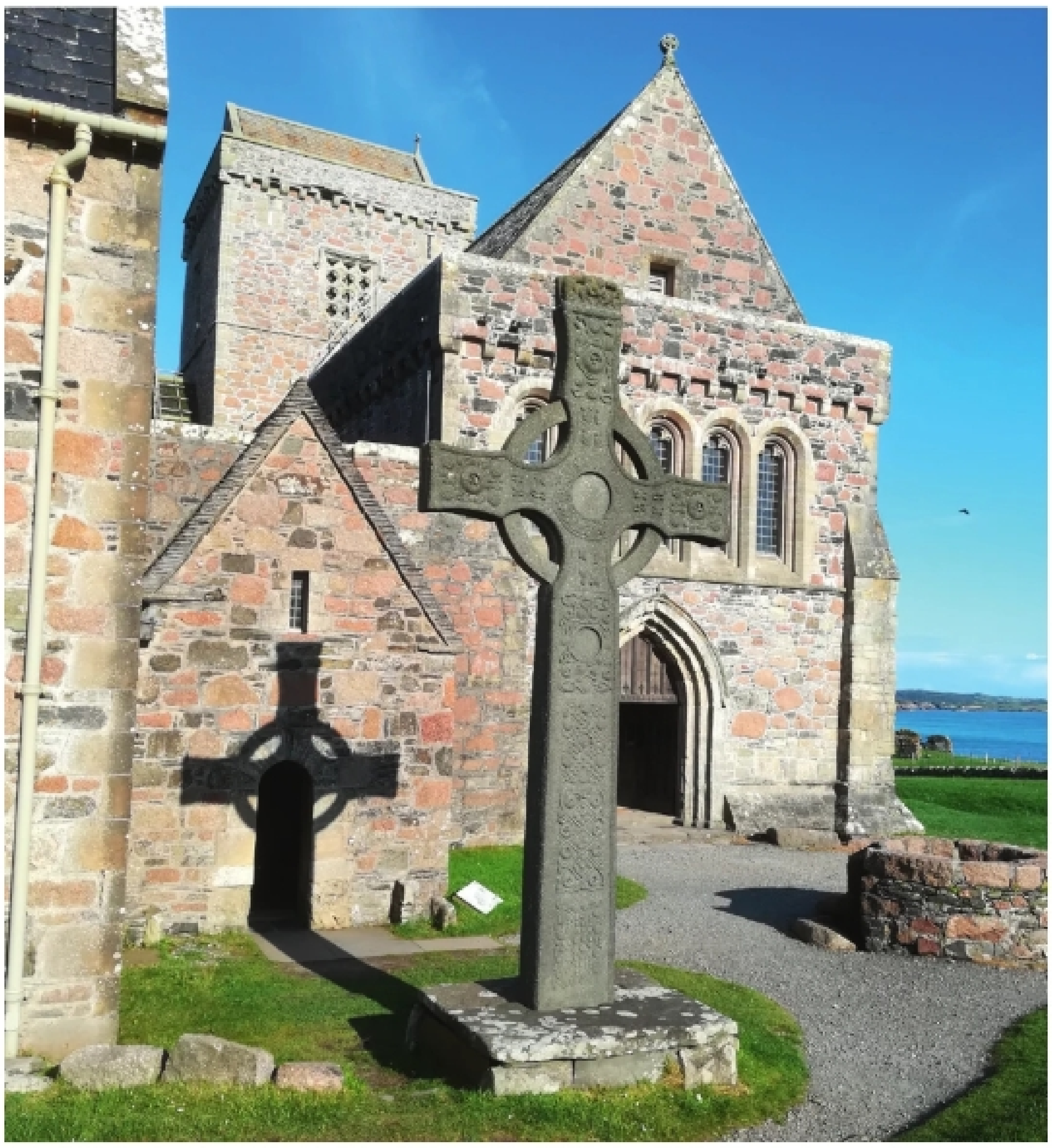
In 1970 a concrete replica of the St John's Cross arrived in Iona sitting incongruously on the deck of a puffer delivering the island's annual supply of coal. Within a week it had been erected at the abbey, where the original cross had stood. The untold story of this intriguing replica lies at the heart of our new book. Drawing on extensive primary research, including previously unpublished antiquarian sources and oral history, we explore the cultural biography of the cross and its replica(s) over 1,200-plus years. With ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in 2017, this is also one of the first qualitative social studies of replicas and how they 'work' at places of historic interest. We invite new ways of thinking about the authenticity, value and significance of replicas by uncovering the values that replicas hold, whether for locals, visitors or heritage professionals. We also tell important new stories about the much-loved, world-renowned island of Iona and its internationally-significant carved stones.

With its 50th anniversary on 6 June, we focus here on the replica's story and aim to convey some sense of its significance. Historic Environment Scotland is listing it at category A ('buildings of special architectural or historical interest which are outstanding examples of a particular period, style or building type'). This is a landmark decision given that replicas tend to be dismissed in heritage contexts as proxies for originals, lacking their own lives and cultural values. As well as addressing traditional cultural values, our research revealed the contemporary social and spiritual values of the replica, reinforced the linked biographies of the original and replica over 1,200-plus years, and made connections between the creativity, craft and passion of the people who created the original and replica.

The artistic and technological achievement of this highly unusual replica, with its prestressed post-tensioned concrete engineering, has previously been recognised by awards, including the Concrete Society Award (Mature Structures Category) in 2000-01. Today it has age-value, recognised by those who encounter it to have had a life and experienced things: 'It must have a lifespan, well everything has a lifespan… It's nice the way that it's

Erected in the base of the original cross, the replica stands immediately in front of the first stone shrine-chapel in the Irish world, built over St Columba's grave

Laying their hands on the replica, people told us they were able to 'touch' the past



The shadow of the replica hits St Columba's shrine

weathered', Gertrude told us. Such experiences are enhanced by lichen growths on its surfaces, which were moulded from the weathered original (above image).

Erected in the base of the original cross, the replica stands immediately in front of the first stone shrine-chapel in the Irish world, built over St Columba's grave. These monuments lay at the heart of a massive mid-8th-century transformation of the early medieval monastery on Iona, an investment thought to be associated with the translation of the saint's relics. A feature of contemporary special interest is that the replica casts a shadow on the recreated shrine-chapel in the late afternoon and evening, just as the original did (above right). The interplay with natural phenomena, such as sunlight and the casting of shadows onto other structures or locations, is understood to be a deliberate design feature of the 8th-century monks to enhance the 'performance' of the crosses in daily life and liturgical rituals. Today, the replica's shadow evokes emotional responses that contribute to appreciation of its authenticity and spiritual values.

As identified in the 1970s by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), the exceptionally tall and wide original cross was composite and initially ringless. Ring quadrants were introduced to support its cross arms after it fell and broke, apparently not long after it was created. This innovative and experimental solution to an already ambitious design arguably led to the creation of the first Irish high cross. Immediately influential on Iona, its form spread quickly throughout the early medieval Irish world and beyond. The St John's Cross is the progenitor of 19th-century 'celtic revival' and later 'celtic' crosses now found the world over, in graveyards, as war memorials, in jewellery such as Alexander and Euphemia Ritchie's Iona Celtic Art, and in other media. This iconic cross has long been recognised by scholars as one of the finest and most important early medieval monuments/works of art in Scotland.

Given its location and inherent structural weaknesses, the St John's Cross collapsed at least four times. Reconstructed in 1927, it fell in 1951, was reconstructed in 1954 and fell again in 1957. No longer possible to re-erect it outside, the fate of the fallen cross re-ignited discussions at national level about the future of Iona's internationally-significant corpus of carved stones. The Iona Cathedral Trustees, who own Iona Abbey, committed to a more permanent solution for the St John's Cross, and in 1967 they began the process of commissioning a replica. In practice, the replica happened because of the concern, determination and energy of members of the public who loved Iona, were saddened by the loss of the cross, and strove over many years to enable a replica to be made.

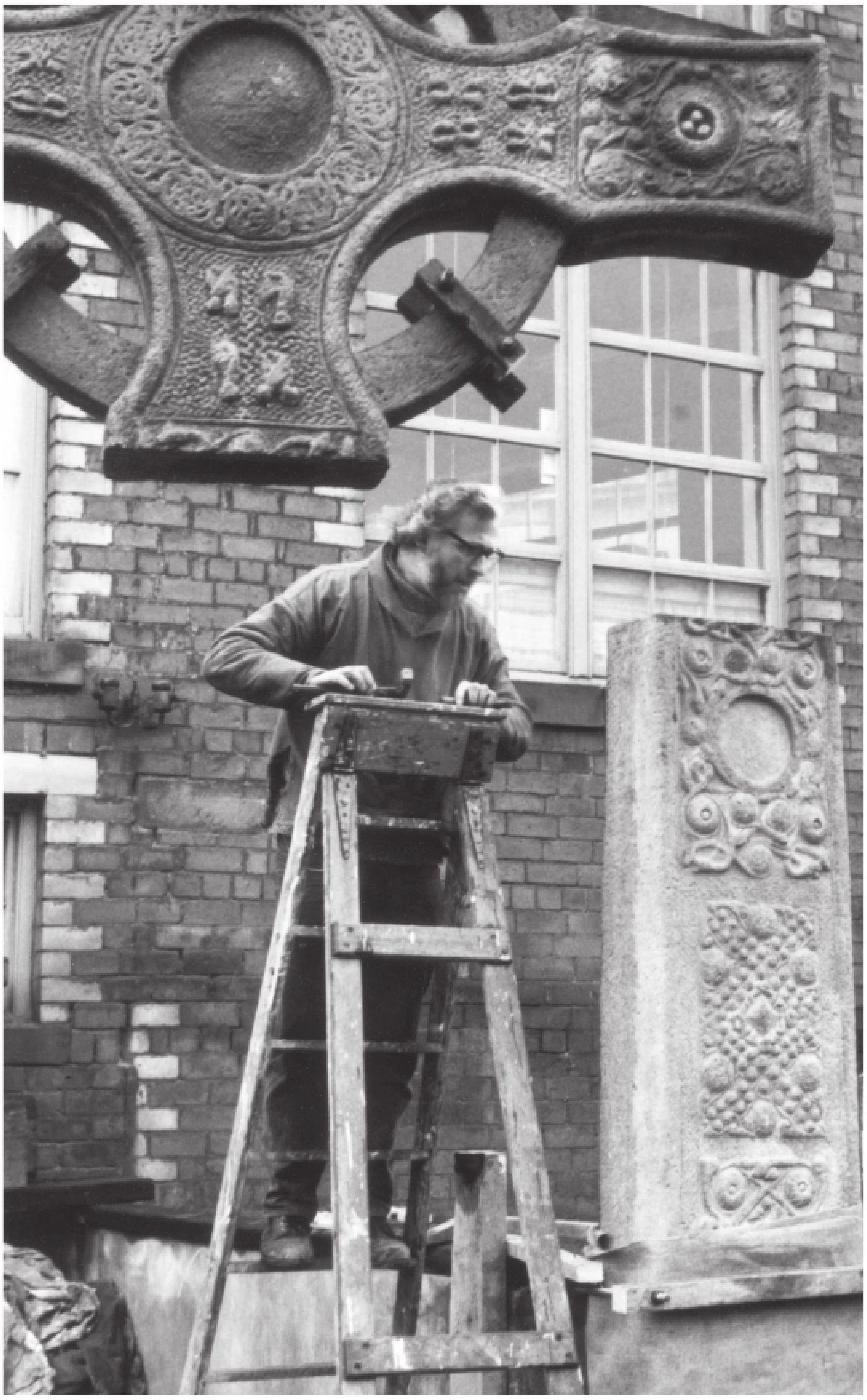
The design brief, informed by traditional materialist ideas about authenticity, was for the replica to accurately resemble the original and be durable enough to withstand the extreme weather of this Hebridean island. The first step was to create a plaster model of the cross, based on plaster casts of the original. In 1970, Exposagg Ltd then cast, transported and erected the replica. It was skilfully engineered in

In practice, the replica happened because of the concern, determination and energy of members of the public who loved Iona, were saddened by the loss of the cross and strove over many years to enable a replica to be made

concrete to resist strong winds and the corrosive effect of the maritime environment. In Edinburgh, the model was cast in large gelatine moulds, the concrete worked to recreate the finish, colour and texture of the original (below).

Transported in parts to Iona, the replica was erected with enormous care and pride. Murdo MacKenzie recorded this activity in a cine film that also captures contemporary Iona life and its involvement with the abbey. He talks of filming a wedding and two funerals, one of them the island's concrete mixer!

Iona has been and continues to be important to the identity of thousands of people, and that special relationship is also to the fore in the stories of how the replica was manufactured and then erected on the island. Experiencing and engaging with the replica today, islanders and visitors create links with its biography, the people involved, their own lives, and of Iona. In many senses the replica 'is' St John's Cross.



John Lawrie, artist at Edinburgh College of Art, supervises the lowering of the concrete cross-head of the St John's Cross replica onto its shaft for the first time, in Edinburgh

The authors, Dr Sally Foster and Professor Siân Jones

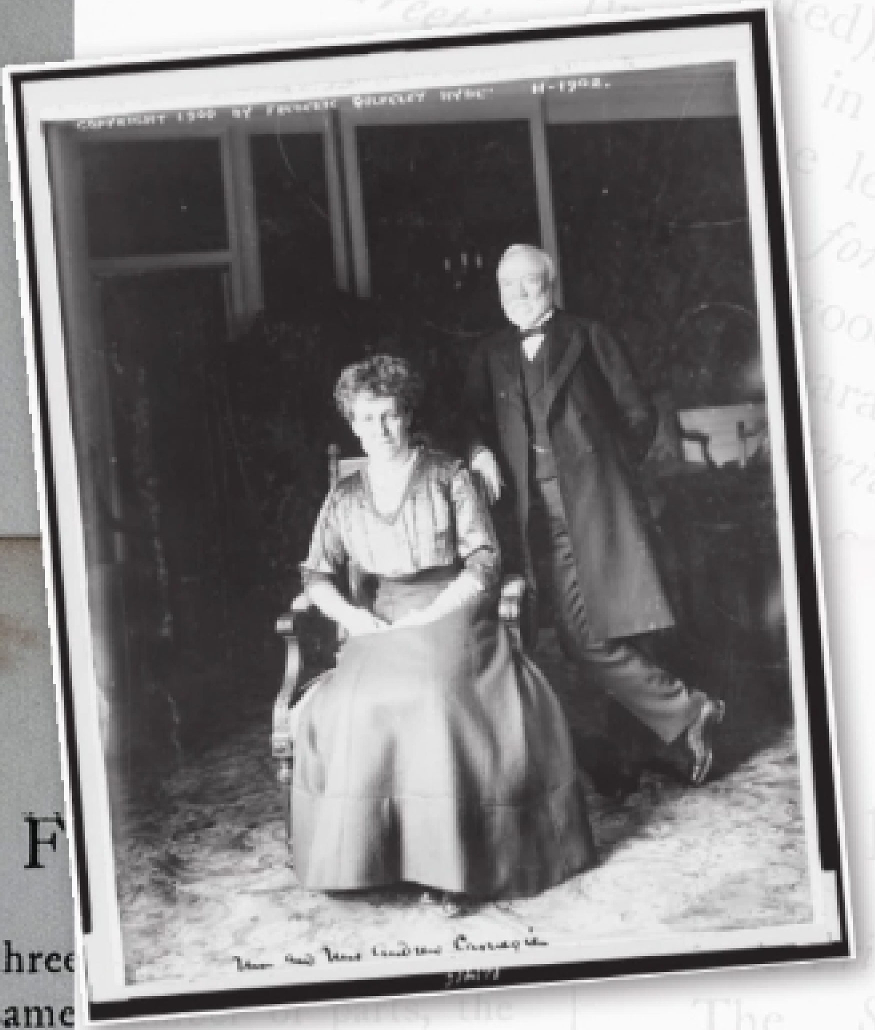
Working together at the Centre for Environment, Heritage and Policy at the University of Stirling, Dr Sally Foster is Senior Lecturer in Heritage and Conservation and Siân Jones is Professor of Environmental History and Heritage.

FURTHER READING

My Life as a Replica: St John's Cross, Iona (Oxford, 2020), S.M. Foster with S. Jones. *History Scotland* readers can buy a copy at £28 (20 per cent discount) using code REPLICA201 from www.oxbowbooks.com, or when ordering on tel +44 (0)1226 734350. Discount is valid until 30 June 2020.

Digital scans of both the replica and original St John's Cross can be found on Sketchfab: https://scot.sh/stjohn

Murdo MacKenzie's 1970 cine film *A Study in Concrete by Exposagg: St. John's Cross, Iona* at: https://scot.sh/murdo



THE SCOTTISH LIBRARY benefactions of Andrew Carnegie

Andrew Carnegie and his wife Louise Whitfield Carnegie pictured in 1908

Carnegie in a plaid suit, c.1910 © Library of Congress, reproduction number LC-DIG-ds-10674

Dunfermline-born industrialist Andrew Carnegie left an indelible legacy on numerous Scottish towns and cities through his programme of endowing public libraries. **Dr John Crawford** explores Carnegie's motivation and achievements

Andrew Carnegie was Scotland's greatest philanthropist and although he funded activities ranging from world peace to church organs, parks and museums, his first and greatest love was libraries. He funded the building of more than 2,800 libraries all over the English-speaking world. Despite his world vision, Scotland was where he began his library philanthropy and, relative to population, Scotland received more libraries than England, Wales or Ireland; 50 out of 77 local authorities in Scotland benefited from his largesse. Carnegie died on 11 August 1919, so the fact that we are beyond his centenary makes now a good time to revisit his legacy.

Carnegie was born in Dunfermline in 1835, the son of a chartist handloom weaver, and he emigrated with his family to Allegheny (now part of Pittsburgh) in 1848. He found work initially as a bobbin boy in a cotton mill, then as a telegraph boy, where his quick-witted intelligence was noted by his employers. His rise was rapid, first as a railroad superintendant, next as a speculative investor and then an iron and steel magnate, ruthless in the pursuit of money, with the result that by the 1890s he was one of the richest men in the world. Like many great men, especially those who lived a long life, Carnegie's life was full of contradictions, and his ruthless pursuit of free enterprise capitalism sat uneasily with his radical family background.

Although an avowed pacifist and peace campaigner, he was happy to sell steel to the American navy for its expanding battle fleet. The extension of the United States navy was a part of the United States' emergence as an imperial power, something which Carnegie himself vigorously opposed. Carnegie's relations with his steel workers were, as he himself was keen to point out, initially cordial. In 1892 there was a strike at the Carnegie Steel Company's Homestead mills. Carnegie himself was on a shooting holiday near Loch Rannoch at the time and the response to the strike was co-ordinated by his business associate Henry Clay Frick, who brought in 300 special operatives employed by the Pinkerton detective agency to break the strike. In the ensuing confrontation, ten men were killed and about 70 injured, making it one of the worst labour disputes in American history. Initially Frick was blamed for this, but it soon emerged that Frick's actions were part of a master plan previously agreed between Frick and Carnegie to break the power of the factory union, and it also emerged that, despite his remote location, Carnegie had been exchanging telegrams with Frick. This was to lead to allegations, mainly in England, that Carnegie's benefactions were 'conscience money', tainted with the blood of his workers. He was condemned by Glasgow Trades Council as a 'new Judas Iscariot.' It is therefore possible, depending on one's point of view, to portray Carnegie either as an altruistic, philanthropic pacifist or as a cynical hypocrite who ruthlessly exploited his workers for his own financial benefit.

So what were Carnegie's motivations in becoming a library philanthropist? It is often forgotten that Carnegie's father played a small but useful part in Scottish library history as in 1808 he was one of the five founding members of the Dunfermline Tradesmen's Library; as the name implies, a society of skilled tradesmen. Carnegie did not discover his father's library activity till later in his own life.

Carnegie's personal contact with libraries began in Allegheny when a local gentleman, Colonel Anderson, opened up his personal library of 400 volumes each Saturday afternoon to any young working boy who wished to use it. Carnegie's reading from this collection included books on history, geography, science and sociology. In his *Autobiography* Carnegie is full of praise for Colonel Anderson and the benefit he derived from using his library. He described both the advantages and the challenges which libraries posed, succinctly summing up his own philosophy in the process:

> *The fundamental advantage of a library is that it gives nothing for nothing. Youths must acquire knowledge themselves. There is no escape from this.*

It is often forgotten that Carnegie's father played a small but useful part in Scottish library history as he was one of the five founding members of the Dunfermline Tradesmen's Library

Carnegie disapproved of poor relief and preferred philanthropy where the recipients of his largesse would have to make some intellectual investment in it.

In 1889, by which time Carnegie had successfully embarked on an additional career as an author and journalist, he published an article in the *North American Review* on the theme of the 'Gospel of Wealth', in which he admitted that successful capitalists were disproportionately financially rewarded but the solution was to use their fortunes for the public good. 'The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced' he wrote. Such a philosophy motivated him for the rest of his life.

Scottish libraries in the 19th century

It should not be thought that Carnegie's benefactions descended on a library desert. In fact the reverse was the case. Scotland was a country precocious in library activity and had been for over 100 years. The first publicly-available lending library had been founded at Innerpeffray in Perthshire in 1680. It was an endowed library, the stock and money for its upkeep having been gifted by a local landowner. However, the organisational model in the 18th century, and one which came to predominate, was the subscription library. Subscription libraries were run like clubs or societies, where members paid a fee to join and an annual subscription. The money raised was used to buy books and other requirements like bookcases. They were democratic institutions centring around an annual general meeting at which a chairman and other office-bearers were elected. This organisational model served Scotland well and subscription libraries, some of which had been founded in the mid-18th century, survived until the end of the 19th century and beyond.

Carnegie had to operate within the legislative framework of the period, which was to prove something of a straitjacket. The first Public Libraries Act, which was passed in 1850, introduced the principle of a service free at the point of use and covered only England and Wales. It was a permissive act which meant that local authorities could ignore it if they wished, which most of them did. It permitted spending up to the equivalent of a halfpenny rate and there was no provision for book purchase. The act was extended to Scotland in 1853 but was quickly superseded by the Public Libraries (Scotland) Act of 1854. This increased the rate to a penny in the pound, which typically raised £300-£500, and permitted the erection of buildings, the purchase of books and the appointment of staff. The act had little effect, with only a few towns, mainly small market towns, adopting it. A further consolidating act was passed in 1867 but made no fundamental change to earlier legislation.

The model of Victorian Scottish library philanthropy was a very simple one. Philanthropists, for the most part, patronised only one community with which they had an intimate connection, either because they lived there, were born there, or had some sentimental connection with it. Their patronage extended no further partly because, although they were rich men, they were not 'super rich' like Carnegie. However, Carnegie began his philanthropic career exactly in this way.

The early acts had proved pretty ineffective. Early adopters were mainly small communities and market towns where there was a long tradition of community library activity. Airdrie, which was to become a town precocious in library activity, adopted the act in 1853, the same year that it passed. Nothing happened for another thirteen years until Dundee adopted the acts in 1866. In the following year, Paisley adopted the acts and Sir Peter Coats funded the construction of a library building still in use today, and also inaugurated the era of free library philanthropy. Meanwhile in Edinburgh, a less welcome development was taking place. The acts required that adoption should be approved by a meeting of ratepayers and here adoption was decisively rejected, the main reason (which was to prove a problem elsewhere) being the increased burden on the rates. A similar rejection took place in Aberdeen in 1871. However there were further adoptions in Forfar (1870), Galashiels and Thurso (both 1872). By 1878, 25 years after the first act, only six rate-supported towns in Scotland had adopted the acts, due to a combination of underfunding and rate payer hostility. The penny rate was entirely insufficient to support the erection of a building, employing staff and purchasing

Dunfermline's Carnegie Library, opened in 1883, the world's first Carnegie library

books. Airdrie and Paisley got round this problem to some extent by taking over pre-existing libraries.

Carnegie's achievement

It was into this rather uninviting scenario that Carnegie stepped. In his *Autobiography*, Carnegie has surprisingly little to say about his library philanthropy. The only library in Britain he mentions is Dunfermline and he devotes more space to praising Colonel Anderson and his 400-volume library. Carnegie's philanthropy began in the same way as other library patrons. In 1879 he promised Dunfermline £8,000 if it adopted the acts, which it did the following year. The library opened in 1883, making it the world's first Carnegie library. However, elsewhere rejections followed from Ayr (1882), Cambuslang (1883) and Elgin (1884). Opposition was particularly fierce in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the latter never adopted the acts; it eventually became a library authority in 1899 by adding a library powers clause to an act about trams. However, Scotland's remaining city, Aberdeen, adopted the acts in 1884. In 1886, Carnegie effectively bribed Edinburgh city council into adopting the acts by offering it £50,000, his previous offer of £25,000 having been turned down because it was not big enough. The desultory pattern of adoptions and rejections continued. Ayr, in 1890, having been offered £10,000 by Carnegie, adopted the acts.

By 1896, 30 towns and cities had adopted the acts, some with the encouragement of Carnegie, but the process had been unstructured and without proper organisation. The following year, Carnegie abandoned this approach, which he called the 'retail' phase, and went over to 'wholesale'. He appointed an executive officer for library gifts and invited applications. The executive officer was James Bertram, an efficient if irascible Scot whose job was to scrutinise applications. The effect was profound. Only six of the 35 libraries established between 1900 and 1908 did not receive grants from Carnegie, and by 1914 the network of 'free libraries' in Scotland was largely complete. However, most of the library authorities thus created were in medium-sized or small towns labouring under the burden of the penny rate, and Carnegie's creation was thus a network of small, underfunded services which did not have money for effective service-development.

Carnegie's money made possible an important addition to the townscape of many communities, especially in new industrial towns which were conspicuously lacking in civic architecture. However, there was a downside to this. Some greedy authorities erected buildings which were much too large for their needs and which swallowed up the penny rate in building maintenance and staffing costs, leaving little left over for buying books.

An oft-quoted example of overbuilding was Hawick Public Library. In 1902 Carnegie gave Hawick £10,000 for a library building despite the fact that the product of its penny rate was £300. The consequence was that, in 1914, the library spent less than £12 on books. Before the erection of the building, the library had been housed in the municipal buildings and the book fund was £80 a year. Another example was the Ewart Library in Dumfries, which in 1898 also received £10,000. Because of building and loan costs between 1910 and 1919, the bookfund rarely exceeded £5 a year. Carnegie's aim was to bring books to the people, but here he achieved the reverse of his objectives. The backlash was not long coming. In 1907, James Duff Brown, a leading public librarian of the day, in an address to the Royal Institute of British Architects, coined the term 'overbuilding'. The following year, another leading figure,

EWART
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

The imposing entrance of Ewart Library, Dumfries. Like other libraries, its building and loan costs meant that less money was spent on books – the opposite of what Carnegie had intended

Berwick Sayers, denounced the 'mania for bricks and mortar' and the over-elaborate buildings it produced at the expense of service development.

Carnegie library buildings

Nevertheless, Carnegie's bounty produced fine buildings, many still with us today. Glasgow provides an excellent example of what could be done with careful planning. In 1901, Carnegie gave his largest British grant, £120,000, to erect a network of branches. The work was led and overseen by the city librarian, Francis Thornton Barrett. Barrett drew up a plan in 1900 for eight libraries in the expectation of getting £100,000 but the £120,000 which materialised resulted in fifteen branches built between1901 and 1915. Barrett's plan was overtly one of positive discrimination, with the result that the first branch which opened in 1901 was located in the Gorbals next to the swimming baths and conveniently located on a tram route. It immediately became one of Scotland's ten busiest libraries; a quarter of the borrowers were women. It was the model for all branches which followed until the programme finished in 1915 with the imposition of wartime building restrictions.

Only six of the 35 libraries established between 1900 and 1908 did not receive grants from Carnegie

However, the most important single building funded by Carnegie was Edinburgh Public (now Central) Library, built with his £50,000 gift. It was designed by Sir George Washington Browne (1853-1939), thus launching his career as a semi-specialist library architect. The result was an extremely unusual if successful building, opened in 1890. It was built over the gorge spanned by George IV Bridge and is on five floors, three below and two above the bridge. The need for maximum daylight dictated that the reference library should be uppermost, with the lending library (street level) and the reading room and children's library on the floor below. The bottom two storeys were used as work rooms, book stores and offices. Electric lighting was used from the beginning, although Browne's plan made the best use of available natural light. Another innovation was the provision of a children's library, and from the beginning female staff were employed. The only error made was in underestimating the growth of the bookstock which necessitated an extension in 1903. After several refurbishments, the library continues in use today.

Because many of Carnegie's gifts were to medium to small authorities, smaller library buildings naturally predominate. Montrose Public Library, also funded by Carnegie, was the first library in Scotland to operate on the open access principle, which means that users were given access to the shelves. Normally at the time users had to select books from a printed catalogue and give their requests to the library assistant. It was completed in 1905 in Scots Jacobean renaissance style and is notable for its large, light-giving windows. Today it remains in use, still possessing its period charm, and is well worth a visit.

One of the incidental consequences of Carnegie's benefactions was the emergence of the specialist library architect. Scotland produced two, of whom Washington Browne was the more distinguished. Apart from his Edinburgh building, he designed several libraries in southern Scotland. These included Kelso, completed in 1905 in Scottish renaissance style. It has large windows for maximum natural light and the original design incorporated a flat for the librarian. Like many other Carnegie libraries, it continues in use today. Jedburgh Library, completed in 1900, is in Washington Browne's favourite Arts and Crafts/Scottish renaissance style in yellow sandstone. Like Kelso the design incorporated a flat for the librarian. Washington Browne's library in Castle Douglas in Kirkcudbrightshire could almost be described as charming. It stands on the main street and is in his preferred Jacobean style. It is in hammer dressed red sandstone and a striking feature in the townscape.

Upper floor reference library, Edinburgh Central Library, flooded with natural light as its architect intended

The other semi-specialist library architect was James Rhind (1853-1918), who, although based in Inverness, designed many of Glasgow's network of branches. Rhind preferred Scottish baronial or baroque style and often incorporated low glass domes to light the delivery lobby or reading room. However, the libraries perpetuated Victorian divisions of user groups with separate entrances for 'ladies' and boys and girls, a strategy which, even at the time, was beginning to look old-fashioned.

The architectural style for libraries preferred all over Britain was termed Queen Anne or Free renaissance, where large, natural-light-admitting windows were a

Edinburgh Central Library

feature. Except for the addition of Jacobean renaissance and Scottish baronial, Scotland followed this pattern. There was no dramatic innovation of the kind found in Finland, for example, after the First World War. Buildings of the Carnegie era were anxious to express the moral worth of the services they housed. Washington Browne's buildings in Jedburgh and Kelso both carry the inscription 'Let there be light', and Bridgeton Library in Glasgow, designed by Rhind, carries on its exterior much figurative sculpture including Della Robbia style figures. This moralising trend in library architecture did not survive the First World War.

> **In an age when libraries are under threat as never before, Carnegie's work is not just a monument to the past but an exemplar for the future**

Carnegie's legacy

By 1911, with the making of grants to Clydebank, Peebles and the parish of Torryburn, Carnegie's work was complete. The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust was founded in 1913 and undertook library-related work until the 1930s. Carnegie died in 1919 and the following year, despite protests from Scottish librarians, the rate limitation was raised from one penny to three pence. Ironically in England and Wales, the rate limitation had been abolished altogether.

Carnegie or his agents also engaged in some rather more minor but useful library philanthropy. The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, founded at the beginning of the new century, made grants to Scottish university libraries to supplement their meagre incomes. Edinburgh University Library received an annual grant of £1,000 from 1903 onwards which augmented its bookfund. Aberdeen University Library also received £1,000 from 1903 and the initial bookfund at Dundee University College (now Dundee University) was funded by the Trust. In 1907-08, Carnegie funded an extension to St Andrews University Library, the only library building gift to a Scottish university.

Carnegie also patronised small non-rate-supported libraries and reading rooms. These grants, mainly small, were given mostly to fund, partially or wholly, the erection and stocking of small village libraries and reading rooms. Some 118 of these grants were given, of which 88 (73 per cent) went to Scotland. This shows that Carnegie retained some links to the old community tradition which had been the dominant form of provision since the mid-18th century and which survived up until the First World War.

So what was to become of Carnegie's work? Around 1920, Wick and Thurso amalgamated their services and in 1926 Castle Douglas Library was effectively taken over by the county council, harbingers of what was to come. In 1938, the Library Association published a major survey of libraries in Great Britain. For the purposes of the study the country was divided up into areas and a reporter was appointed for each region. Scotland was divided into three: Edinburgh and all areas to the north, southeast Scotland, and southwest Scotland. The reporter for Edinburgh and the north seems to have been the most charitably inclined. He found 'libraries and librarianship in every stage of development from the completely ineffective to the well nigh-perfect'. He was reasonably happy with the buildings but commented on the negative consequences of overbuilding. Understaffing was a problem and staffs in small libraries were inexperienced. The reporter for the borders was less sympathetic. Again it was the small burgh and county libraries which came in for the most criticism: '[Libraries approached] in very few instances... the recognised minimum standards for a modern library service'. Overbuilding was again the culprit:

Book funds are generally inadequate to a pitiable degree, and there are far

Kelso Public Library, designed by Washington Browne in the popular Queen Anne style of the age, whereby large windows admitting natural light were a key feature

too few trained and qualified librarians and assistants among staffs which are very small numerically.

Staff salaries were poor and library assistants rarely stayed long, preferring employment elsewhere. However, there were bright spots: the previously impoverished Hawick was now 'an example of economic efficiency', with a fine Border collection. Apart from bookfund issues, the lack of staff development and training were the most pressing issues, and this was eventually addressed by the founding of the first Scottish library school in Glasgow in 1946. Many of the small independent services eventually amalgamated with other services. By 1970, 20 Carnegie libraries had amalgamated with other services. The hated threepenny rate was eventually abolished in 1955, and post-war growth in public expenditure eventually allowed Carnegie's libraries to achieve their true potential.

What was Carnegie's long-term legacy? He made an important contribution to Scottish townscape and his money produced useful and important buildings, many of which are still in use today. The new libraries had to be staffed and UK-wide he contributed to the development of the infant profession of librarianship. Rather surprisingly, he contributed to the emergence of the library supply industry. The new libraries needed shelving, reading desks, chairs and book issue systems, and a whole new industry grew up to meet the needs of his new libraries. However, in an age when libraries are under threat as never before, his work is not just a monument to the past but as an exemplar for the future.

Dr John Crawford is a library and information historian specialising in Scottish library history. He is a former chairman of the Library and Information History Group. He has written extensively on the subject and presented at conferences, both in Britain and abroad. He is chairman of Leadhills Heritage Trust.

FURTHER READING

A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955 (Glasgow, 1971), W. R. Aitken

Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie (London, 1920), A. Carnegie

Buildings of Scotland: Borders; Dumfries and Galloway; Dundee and Angus; Glasgow (New Haven, 2006, 1996, 2012, 2005)

Books, Buildings and Social Engineering: Early Public Libraries in Britain from Past toPpresent (Farnham, 2009), A. Black, S. Pepper & K. Bagshaw

History of Public Libraries in Great Britain, 1845-1977 (London, 1977), T. Kelly

'Historical Models of Library Provision: The Example of Scotland' (Glasgow Caledonian University, PhD thesis, 1993), J.C. Crawford

THREAT OR TRUE FAITH?

How did the Vikings see christianity?

Jorge Lazo de la Vega Breton explores Viking attitudes towards christianity in Scotland and the wider British isles, suggesting that conversion may have been regarded as a benign shift in social customs that allowed Viking immigrants to integrate peacefully into their new homes

Few medieval cultures are the subject of as many novels, movies, TV series, cartoons, superhero stories, video games and heavy metal songs as the Vikings. Popular culture often depicts them as opportunistic, lawless pagans wearing horned helmets and wreaking havoc in christian Britain. Their arrival is almost invariably portrayed as an assault on, and a threat to, the power structure and religion of their victims. Abbo Cernuus, a benedictine monk present in the Viking siege of Paris in 885-86, is said to have portrayed the Viking invasions not as petty piracy but as 'a war between christians and pagans, between the forces of God and those of darkness'. But was Viking settlement in the British isles a religious battle as much as it was a political one? Were Viking immigrants threatened by the prospect of conversion as much as christians were alarmed by paganism? This article proposes an interpretation in which the christianisation of Viking immigrants in the British isles, especially in Scotland, was very different from that of Scandinavia, prompting us to reconsider how Viking settlers viewed christianity and the agency behind their conversion.

Scandinavian settlers had already become part of the Scottish landscape by the time the rest of the British isles was suffering the scourge of war and plunder at the hands of Viking invading armies

Viking attitudes: an overview

Because written sources from the Scottish region at this time are virtually silent, a comparative, indirect approach must be taken to infer what the situation was in Scotland at the time of the first Viking arrivals. The attitudes Vikings had towards the British isles can be broadly divided in three categories based on the end goal they held at the time: plunder, war and settlement. When the goal was plunder, Vikings had an opportunistic attitude towards the land and people. Starting with the sack of Lindisfarne in 793 and continuing until the arrival of the great heathen army in 865, Viking raiders were generally concerned with picking soft targets and seizing as much wealth as possible. This was also an opportunity for adventurous young Norsemen to acquire fame and make a name for themselves.

Viking hit-and-run attacks seem to have persisted until the arrival of the great heathen army, when their attitudes and *modus operandi* shifted. When their business became war, Scandinavians were organised and followed a commander. They were concerned with plunder, but they also wanted to make their presence known. After the arrival of the great heathen army in 865, they were here to stay, and they wanted the natives to acknowledge that. This is clear from the repeated large-scale attacks against the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and the fortification of sites like Repton, where they very likely overwintered in 873-74.

Viking attitudes towards the British isles took a sharp turn after the late 9th-century Alfred-Guthrum treaty was signed, which gave authority to the Danes over what later became known as the Danelaw. Numerous churches and places of wealth were spared by the invading Viking army. This is perhaps evidence of a shift in their perception of the socio-political landscape – a landscape that started to include them. To understand how Scandinavian settlers became part of the Scottish landscape and how they came to see christianity, it is necessary briefly to consider the place they came from, and how christianity formed part of their reality at the time.

Reasons to convert

It is almost certain that the first Norwegian settlers in Scotland were no strangers to christianity. Norse settlement in Scotland and its isles took place in the 8th century, but possibly started earlier. This is two centuries before the first Norwegian christian king, Hakon the Good, supposedly forced his pagan half-brother Eric Bloodaxe into exile in the Orkneys *c.* 940. A leader's conversion to christianity is very easy to pinpoint, but the exposure to christianity and the subsequent christianisation of the Norwegian population was not a single event. Rather, it was a gradual process stretching back as early as the beginning of the 9th century, and very likely earlier. For instance, the 9th century hagiographical work *Vita Ansgari* tells us about Scandinavian merchants officially converting to christianity to enjoy access to more lucrative markets, as some christians in eastern Europe refused to trade with, or provide protection for, non-christians. For these merchants, christianity was clearly not a threat but an investment of sorts. This investment, however, did not always pay off for all converts.

For Scandinavian rulers at the time, as well as for the aforementioned merchants, converting to christianity had to make sense in the world of the living. Leaders and merchants alike sought what sociologists call 'empirical religiosity' – religious conversion must bring tangible, material gains with it, and these gains had better come sooner rather than later. For some (presumably like the merchants), these gains came in the form of gold and silver, but leaders were interested in more than wealth. The enigmatic exiled king of Jutland and parts of Denmark, Harald Klak, for example, converted to christianity in 826 to gain military support from Louis the Pious, king of the Franks, and he eventually became the first Danish christian Viking king. However, Harald Klak's baptism did not prove to be a successful investment in the long run, as he was overthrown a year after his return, prompting him to stake his resources and time in what ironically proved to be a less risky venture: piracy.

> *When their business became war, Scandinavians were organised and followed a commander. They were concerned with plunder, but they also wanted to make their presence known*

Christian kings and the conversion of Scandinavia

This leaves a question lingering in the air: could these conversions have been sincere, or were they nothing more than 'investments'? It is true that an official conversion in the form of baptism did not necessarily entail the internalisation of christian beliefs. As a matter of fact, internalisation usually took place after the official conversion, if at all, as missionaries often adopted a baptise-first-teach-later strategy when dealing with pagans. On the one hand, for the heathen aristocracy in medieval Europe, the necessity to form alliances, and christianity's prestige and connection to the Roman Empire were strong motivators for many to undergo baptism, regardless of their private beliefs. On the other hand, christians were critical about the new converts' post-conversion idol-worshiping habits. In the 10th century, the Saxon Widukind of Corvey made this very clear in his chronicle *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum*, where he complained that Danes, despite having been christians for a long time, continued to worship their 'worthless idols'. Fake conversions were a headache for sincere christian missionaries, but they were a common occurrence amongst European pagans, perhaps unsurprisingly since they were often the product of not only greed but sometimes fear as well.

Forced, *en masse* conversions were not unheard of in medieval Europe. According to the royal Frankish records, between 772 and 804, Charlemagne himself was resolved to persist waging war against the Saxons until they were 'placed under the Christian religion or completely destroyed'. Scandinavians, too, were the subject of forced conversions from the christian kings Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf Haraldsson, affectionately known as the 'two Olafs'. If the sagas are to be believed, Olaf Tryggvason, the Viking king often (perhaps mistakenly) credited with the christianisation of Norway, the Orkneys and Iceland, was a zealous fanatic and borderline extremist by modern standards. He was known as Tryggvason the 'horg breaker' ('horg' being pagan outdoor cult sites, now surviving in Norwegian farm names ending in *-horg*). It was recorded that Olaf offered a group of local chieftains the option of conversion or being sacrificed to the pagan gods.

In *c.*995 he forced Earl Sigurd Hlodvisson of Orkney to abandon his pagan ways and convert or face the consequences. This has traditionally been regarded as the turning point for christianity in Orkney. Although, as we will see shortly, by the time Olaf threatened Sigurd, a considerable segment of the Norse population in Orkney was probably christian and coexisted on good terms with pagans. Olaf's ardent devotion was not limited to the political realm either, but was indeed very personal. After he sought the hand of Queen Sigrid of Sweden, and the queen refused to convert, Olaf cancelled the wedding by striking her in the face with his glove and insulting her, effectively turning her into a staunch enemy.

Olaf Tryggvason's questionable methods of evangelisation are now largely understood to be possible exaggerations by 12th-century monks and historians, such as Odd Snorrason, who wrote extensively in 1190 about Olaf's conversion and his battle against evil to save the souls of the Norwegians. The second Olaf, Olaf Haraldsson, who ruled Norway from 1015 to 1028, was in contrast a well-attested figure with well-documented achievements, mentioned

The island of Lindisfarne, the site of one of the earliest Viking invasions of Britain

For Scandinavian rulers at the time, as well as for the merchants, converting to Christianity had to make sense in the world of the living

Gosforth cross; the tallest viking cross in England. In the graveyard of the parish church of Gosforth, Cumbria

in the sagas as well as in contemporary skaldic poetry. He is known to have introduced political and social regulations based on christian values, and is regarded by historians as the true agent of christianisation in Norway. His christian legacy earned him sainthood, as well as the title *Rex Perpetuus Norvegiae*, or 'eternal king of Norway'. Christianity brought trade and consequently urbanisation – after all, all urban areas in Norway at the time were founded by christian kings. This facilitated trade and the exchange of ideas, further fuelling the expansion of the christian faith. Regions outside Scandinavia under Norse control were more likely to convert mainly for practical, political or social reasons, but sincere spiritual conversions must have been commonplace as well, especially in these urban centres.

It is easy, therefore, to see how areas like Iceland and Greenland were ushered into christianity following Norway's lead. However, one can be too hasty in assuming that the christianisation of Norse Scotland was carried out in a similar manner. When the first Viking settlers arrived in the 8th century, but very likely earlier, they encountered well-established monastic institutions which lacked centralised authority. The Celtic church in Scotland was composed of multiple dioceses that were unable to provide significant pastoral care to the population. In 734, St Bede the Venerable wrote in a letter that even the most pious folk in northern England participated in the eucharist only three times a year. In the northern parts of Scotland, geographical limitations characteristic of the highland region, along with heavy Celtic influence from Ireland, would have made co-operation with the papacy, as well as between different dioceses, and the tending of christian folk, difficult tasks indeed.

Monasteries and other religious beacons seemed to have avoided expansion and limited their services to the neighbouring areas. The lack of religious co-operation was so severe that it gave rise to official ecclesiastical variations and aberrant christian rituals. There was, for instance, an intense centuries-long debate over the dating of easter. And the tonsure, or the shaven portion on monks' heads, had a different shape from the homogenous round form characteristic of medieval monks on the continent.

Debates over a day on the calendar and a monastic haircut, however fierce and prolonged, were *peccata minuta* when compared to other truly unorthodox practices. Some of these discrepancies were in the form of rituals, such as the consumption of horse meat. They caused, to put it mildly, much distress and anxiety to 8th-century papal legates, who were horrified at things 'no Christian does in the East'. There is, therefore, no evidence of the christian canon or beliefs being imposed on the first Viking immigrants by an institutionalised church acting as a papal extension, simply because there was none. This is not to say that the church lacked influence and power. But it lacked the hard, military might needed to impose the christian dogma by force alone. On the continent, in places like Frankia and Scandinavia, this kind of hard power was drawn from christian kings willing to become the church's sword and shield. There were christian kings of this kind in England, such as Alfred the Great, and the Norwegian kings had some degree of authority over Orkney and Shetland, but they had little jurisdiction or control over Norse settlements in other parts of Scotland in the 8th century or earlier.

The Scottish twist

When it comes to the conversion of the Norse peoples, the main difference between the situation of Norway and that of Scotland is that the power imbalance in Norway tremendously favoured christianity through christian kings, but was heavily tilted in the opposite direction in favour of the pagan invaders in the whole of the British isles. In other words, before the previously discussed Alfred-Guthrum treaty, there was no pressure from the top of the social hierarchy to convert to christianity. Vikings were the aggressors. They terrorised the local christian communities, razing them and taking what and whom they pleased as plunder. They possessed military might, or hard power. Christianity in the 8th and 9th centuries, on the other hand, was considered prestigious in the higher social strata, and, as a somewhat institutionalised monotheistic religion, was more resilient to change. Christianity had cultural weight, or soft power. While the first Viking invaders recognised christianity as a religion and holy places as ideologically significant, there was really no incentive to baptise, and much less to internalise the beliefs of the locals. After they set their eyes on settlement, however, baptism may have seemed like a sensible way to maintain peace and intermingle with the locals. With such a power imbalance in place, it follows that the process of conversion after settlement was different from the experience of Norway, and may in fact have been unique in medieval Europe.

Viking immigrants and religion

Contrary to our modern experience, Scandinavians may not have seen baptism and conversion as a radical change of world view. Remarkably, Old Norse did not have a word for religion, and 'religious conversion' was simply referred to as a 'change in customs', or *siðaskipti*. This strongly suggests that religion and culture had a certain degree of interchangeability and were perhaps indistinguishable from each other in the Viking mind. It is true that human beings tenaciously adhere to traditions and culture more often than not, but we are more likely to adopt new cultural traits than to subscribe to a completely different interpretation of reality and the afterlife.

The Vikings, however, may have seen these actions as one and the same. For instance, we know of Viking immigrants in the British isles taking local women as wives. Local women were most likely considered socially inferior, but rich and poor Scandinavians did not shy away from marrying someone from a lower rank. For christians, on the other hand, marrying a pagan (or a Jew) would have been 'heretical' according to canon law, a clear example of

Whithorn Priory, on the site of one of Scotland's earliest Christian communities. 8th-century Viking settlers would have encountered well-established monastic communities

> *Fake conversions were a headache for sincere christian missionaries, but they were a common occurrence amongst European pagans, perhaps unsurprisingly since they were often the product of not only greed but sometimes fear as well*

christianity's influence and soft power. For young and adventurous Scandinavian men, converting to christianity may have seemed like just another cultural tradition one had to bow to in order to settle swiftly and peacefully amongst natives. This does not mean that they internalised the christian doctrine or that they were even aware of what becoming a christian really meant. The first generation of Scandinavian settlers probably arrived pagan, lived pagan and died pagan, even after being baptised. It was the christian wives and communities that carried out the true conversion of the Viking immigrants in Scotland.

The great heathen army was most likely composed of very eclectic folk, from different regions in Scandinavia and likely included Viking settlers from around the British isles as well. And there is no reason to suppose that other contemporary Viking armies were any different. This situation of constant warfare provided a steady job market for Viking settlers not quite ready to lay down their weapons and retire for good, many of whom joined the enterprise, leaving their families and communities for extended periods of time. Christianity was easily learned and adopted by the children from their christian mothers, their local slaves and their communities, which were probably mostly christian or would have undoubtedly received christian influence from trade, missionaries and other converts. The context where the Viking settlers lived, where their children developed, was christian. Although there is no evidence to suggest that christianity was in any way forced upon the new immigrants, christianity was the norm. Similarly, there is no evidence of paganism being imposed on the locals, suggesting a peaceful, albeit perhaps tense, coexistence between pagan immigrants and the local christians.

Without coercive measures taken by pagan immigrants to force their progeny to adhere to the old traditions and reject the christian God, *siðaskipti* would have taken place relatively smoothly and rapidly with the coming of new generations. The lack of evidence of major conflicts fuelled by religious resistance against christianity in Scotland tends to indicate that this was probably what occurred to most first-generation Anglo-Scandinavians. Their lives were perhaps best illustrated by that of St Odo of Canterbury. Son of pagan warriors, members of the great heathen army under Ivar the Boneless's command, Odo was born in England at the beginning of the 10th century or the end of the 9th. A product of *siðaskipti*, he was raised a christian, became the archbishop of Canterbury, and eventually attained sainthood. Odo's parents, on the other hand, likely remained pagan for the rest of their lives. However, there is evidence to suggest that some pagan immigrants also experienced what experts in religious conversion call 'impression point', or an experience or moment in which a new religion becomes 'graspable' and the internalisation of new beliefs begins to take place.

Culture shock & Viking syncretism

Conversions of Scandinavian-born immigrants and first-generation Anglo-Scandinavians have been recorded, and there is no reason to doubt their sincerity, Olaf 'horg breaker' Tryggvason being a good example. However, polytheistic religions seem to have been more conducive to syncretism, or the combination of religious beliefs, than any other monotheistic religion. Syncretism is seen in the bizarre lives of Vikings such as Helgi the Lean, a settler in Iceland who did not have a problem being a christian but praying to Thor before getting

Celtic cross at Lock Kinord, northern shore. Christianity would have been easily learned and adopted by the children of Viking settlers who had christian mothers on a ship or in 'difficult times'. Granted, Helgi the Lean could very well be symbolic and not an historical character. He could have represented the plurality and complexity of the beliefs of the first settlers in Iceland in the 9th century, many of whom had previously settled in the coasts of Scotland.

Nevertheless, evidence of syncretism comes from archaeology as well. Stone engravings that have been interpreted as syncretic are not unheard of, for example the Gosforth cross in Cumbria, the stone carving of St Andrew in the Isle of Man and the Middleton cross in North Yorkshire. Syncretism, while somewhat tolerated by the church, was probably the way many immigrants internalised new christian beliefs – incorporating them into their lives as cultural elements, coexisting with their homeland's traditions rather than supplanting them.

Conclusion: Vikings, christianity and immigration

While many Scandinavians on the continent and other parts of the British isles due to diverse socio-political factors saw the necessity to convert, Viking immigrants in areas with more political freedom, such as Scotland, probably saw conversion as a cultural change and were willing to embrace it. It is possible that it was this freedom from political and religious pressure that made life in the British isles alluring for some Viking immigrants. Many locals were willing to accommodate the ones willing to settle peacefully, as long as they were baptised; however, neither side was ever free from prejudice and contempt. For Vikings, the locals were always inferior, and vice versa in the eyes of the church. St Odo of Canterbury, as his hagiographer puts it, 'flourished from thorns like a rose'. It seems ironic that the Vikings, as sharp as they were, may not have seen these differences the same way the ecclesiastical authorities did. They wanted to remain in Britain and they knew exactly what had to be done in order to succeed.

Originally from Mexico, Jorge Luis Lazo de la Vega Breton has spent most of his life in the US and China. He has a Masters in the history and archaeology of the highlands and islands from the University of the Highlands and Islands, and the focus of his research is Viking identity and the conversion process in early medieval Scotland.

FURTHER READING

'Christianization and State Formation in Early Medieval Norway', Scandinavian Journal of History, 30 (2005), 107-34, S. Bagge

Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and the Rus' c. 900-1200 (Cambridge, 2007), ed. N. Berend

'Diaspora and Identity in the Viking Age', Early Medieval Europe, 20 (2012), L. Abrams, 17-38

From Pictland to Alba 789-1000 (Edinburg, 2007), A. Woolf

The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity 371–1386 AD (HarperCollins e-books, 1997), R. Fletcher

The Cross Goes North: Process of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300 (York, 2003), M. Carver

Viking Burial in the North of England: A Study of Contact, Interaction and Reaction between Scandinavian Migrants with Resident Groups, and the effect of Immigration on Aspects of Cultural Continuity (Oxford, 2007), A. Redmond

In the next issue of

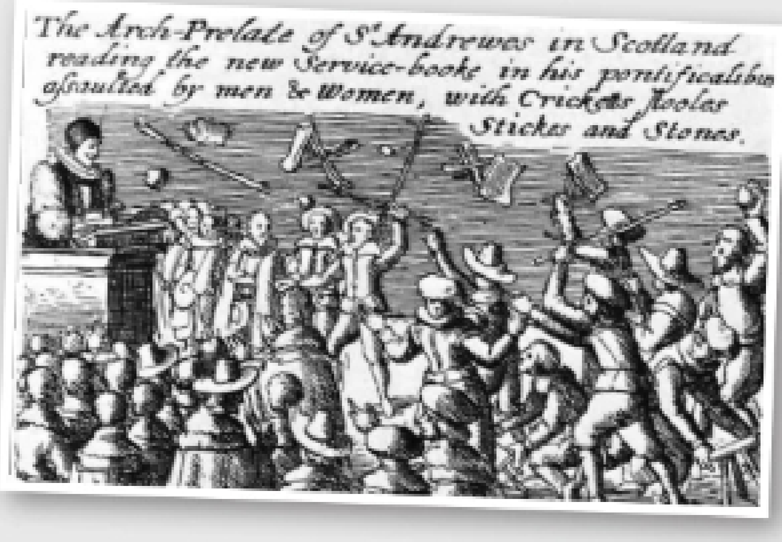
history SCOTLAND

Vol 20.4
Jul/Aug 2020
On sale:
13 June

Who makes the rules? How Scottish football secured its independence

We explore the early history of both the Scottish Football Association and the Scottish Rugby Union, exploring how these organisations helped ensure a distinctive Scottish experience of the country's two most popular ball-games

New series: secret history of the Bishops' Wars


The Arch-Prelate of S^t Andrewes in Scotland reading the new Service-booke in his pontificalibus assaulted by men & Women, with Crickets Stooles Sticks and Stones.

Beginning a new, two-part series, we reconstruct the background to the Bishops' Wars (1639-40), a relatively minor conflict that would nonetheless play a crucial role in initiating the British Civil Wars of 1640s and 1650s

PLUS...

The Campones letters: a scheme to settle Scots in 18th-century Spain

In 1783, a community of Scots in the north-east hatched a seemingly bizarre plan to settle a Scottish community in Spain. We investigate what was going on.

NEW laser scanning results from Dunfermline Abbey; richly-detailed archive photographs from the Crawford Collection

GUARANTEE YOUR COPY

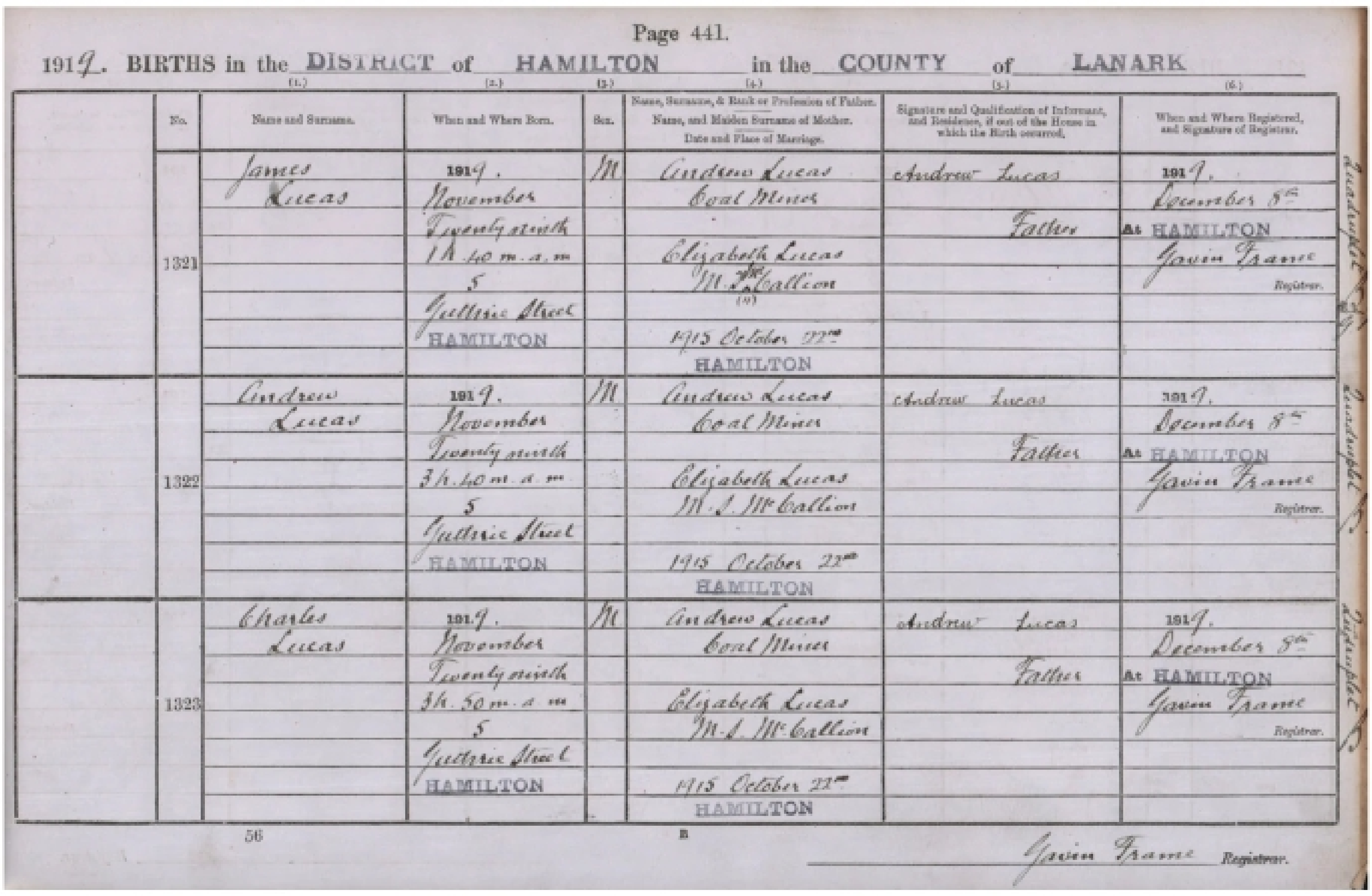
Join *History Scotland*, never miss an issue
***and* save money on the cover price!**

See page 52 or visit: www.historyscotland.com (if you live outside the UK, see page 63 for our 'fast-track' offer) or see our offers online at:

www.historyscotland.com/store/subscriptions

THE HAMILTON QUADRUPLETS

Veronica Moffat explores records connected to a remarkable multi-birth that made the press



Page 441.

1919. BIRTHS in the DISTRICT of HAMILTON in the COUNTY of LANARK

	No.	Name and Surname. (1.)	When and Where Born. (2.)	Sex. (3.)	Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother. Date and Place of Marriage. (4.)	Signature and Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Birth occurred. (5.)	When and Where Registered, and Signature of Registrar. (6.)	
	1321	James Lucas	1919. November Twenty ninth 1h. 40m. a.m. 5 Guthrie Street HAMILTON	M	Andrew Lucas Coal Miner Elizabeth Lucas M.S. McCallion 1915 October 22nd HAMILTON	Andrew Lucas Father	1919. December 8th At HAMILTON Gavin Frame Registrar.	Quadruplet
	1322	Andrew Lucas	1919. November Twenty ninth 3h. 40m. a.m. 5 Guthrie Street HAMILTON	M	Andrew Lucas Coal Miner Elizabeth Lucas M.S. McCallion 1915 October 22nd HAMILTON	Andrew Lucas Father	1919. December 8th At HAMILTON Gavin Frame Registrar.	Quadruplet
	1323	Charles Lucas	1919. November Twenty ninth 3h. 50m. a.m. 5 Guthrie Street HAMILTON	M	Andrew Lucas Coal Miner Elizabeth Lucas M.S. McCallion 1915 October 22nd HAMILTON	Andrew Lucas Father	1919. December 8th At HAMILTON Gavin Frame Registrar.	Quadruplet

56 B

Gavin Frame Registrar.

Image of the birth of James, Andrew and Charles Lucas, 29 November 1919. National Records of Scotland, Statutory Register of Births, 1919, 647/1322 pg 441

The year 1919 restored an element of calm to much of the world. The cessation of warfare with the signing of the treaty of Versailles signalled the end of the First World War in November 1918 and the Spanish 'flu pandemic that had swept the globe came to an end by the summer of 1919.

As a result of this growing stability, the national birth rate in the latter part of 1919 rose not only up to pre-war level, but higher. October, for example, produced a birth rate of 27.1 per 1,000 – eight per cent over the pre-war average. By December this had risen to 21 per cent above average.

By the end of 1919, the total population of Scotland was just under five million. Despite a reassuringly high birth rate, with 106,268 registered births, this was still 20 per cent lower than the highest number recorded in Scotland prior to that year – 133,525 in 1908.

In 1919, 54,771 babies were male (an increase of 4,398 on the previous year) and 51,497 were female (an increase of 3,316). The Registrar General's report tells us that out of these births, 103,057 were single children, 3,168 were twins and 39 were triplets. It also highlights an unusual event: the birth of quadruplets '...all four alive at birth. This is the fifth time such an event has been registered since 1855', the dates being 1857, 1867, 1903, 1907 and 1919.

The proud parents of the quadruplets were Andrew and Elizabeth Lucas who lived at 5 Guthrie Street, Hamilton. Elizabeth was 28 years old when the quadruplets were born, and was a native of Londonderry. Andrew, a year younger, was a coal miner. The couple already had two children – a three-year-old daughter, Annie and 21-month-old son, John.

The new arrivals, three boys and one girl, were born on 29 November. Mary arrived first, followed by James, Andrew and Charles. *The British Medical Journal* reported that 'the heaviest of the babies weighed about 2,495g [5.5lbs] and all 3 others around 2,270g [5lbs]'.

The local press interviewed Andrew Lucas senior and reported that he was 'most grateful for the kind attention from his neighbours' who had been helping by taking turns to bottle feed the babies. Gifts of clothing and money had been sent from across Scotland and England.

Newspapers also reported that Andrew 'remarked jocularly that the miners would not have to have many strikes in the future, otherwise he would be in "a bonnie pickle"'.

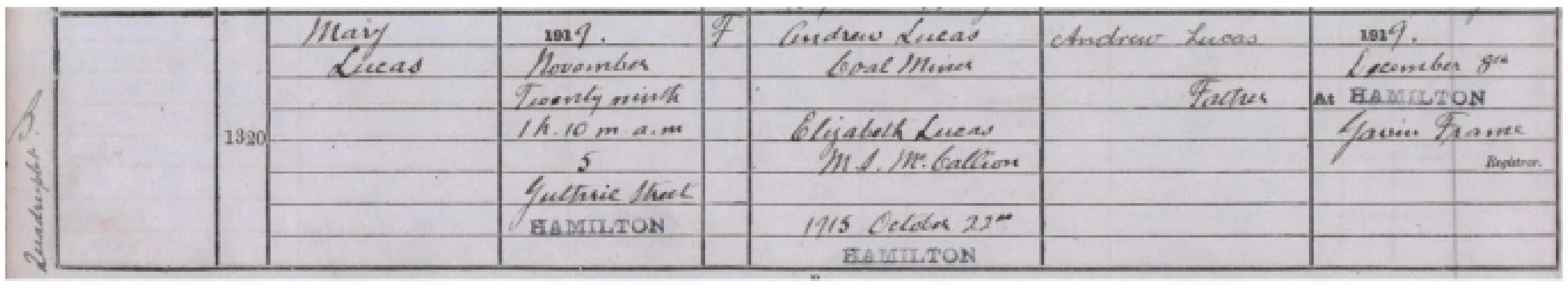
In order to house the new members of the Lucas family, the town council of Hamilton had promised that they were to have a preferential claim on the first completed house in the new housing scheme that was under construction.

Unfortunately, joy soon turned to tragedy as three of the children did not survive their first month. James died at home on 9 December with his cause of death noted as 'birth debility. Abscess of lip 2 days'. Charles died two days later from 'birth debility', followed two days later by Mary from the same cause. Andrew, the only surviving quadruplet, became a merchant seaman. He died in 1980.

In the modern day, quadruplets are still rare, but are usually all born alive. The vast majority of these babies survive infancy and should grow up to become healthy adults.

These records form part of 106,268 Scottish births entries from 1919 released on ScotlandsPeople in January 2020. You can search for, view and save images of all of them on the ScotlandsPeople website: www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk.

Veronica Moffat is an archivist at National Records of Scotland.



Quadruplet	1320	Mary Lucas	1919. November Twenty ninth 1h. 10m. a.m. 5 Guthrie Street HAMILTON	F	Andrew Lucas Coal Miner Elizabeth Lucas M.S. McCallion 1915 October 22nd HAMILTON	Andrew Lucas Father	1919. December 8th At HAMILTON Gavin Frame Registrar.

Image of the birth of Mary Lucas, 29 November 1919. National Records of Scotland, Statutory Register of Births, 1919, 647/1320 pg 440

THE TRAGIC TALE BEHIND A REMARKABLE JACOBITE COLLECTION
Vol.20 No.1 January/February 2020
history SCOTLAND
EXPERT INSIGHT IN EVERY ISSUE
✓ ARCHAEOLOGY
✓ HERITAGE
✓ HISTORY
PRINCE LEOPOLD'S PIONEERING VISIT TO EDINBURGH NEW TOWN
ALONE AT SEA FOR 9 DAYS
The incredible survival of a plucky Shetland crofter
Exploring the origins of THE PICTISH LANGUAGE
A HISTORY OF GHOSTS
Scotland's ever evolving ideas of the spirit world
PLUS
Archaeology project explores medieval Argyll castle
The epic sea battle that sank Cromarty cruiser Black Prince
The Stonehaven scholar who predicted World War II

Research you can't read anywhere else

SUBSCRIBE TODAY AND SAVE!

Receive every issue of *History Scotland* direct to your door and save money on the shop price.

ALONE AT SEA
PRINCE LEOPOLD
of Saxe-Coburg's entry into Edinburgh, 1819

EACH ISSUE INCLUDES:

- History news and opinion
- New research you can't read anywhere else
- Expert, in-depth articles covering centuries of Scottish history
- Ideas for things to do and places to visit

SUBSCRIBE FOR JUST £3.50 AN ISSUE

(Direct Debit)

3 EASY WAYS TO SIGN UP

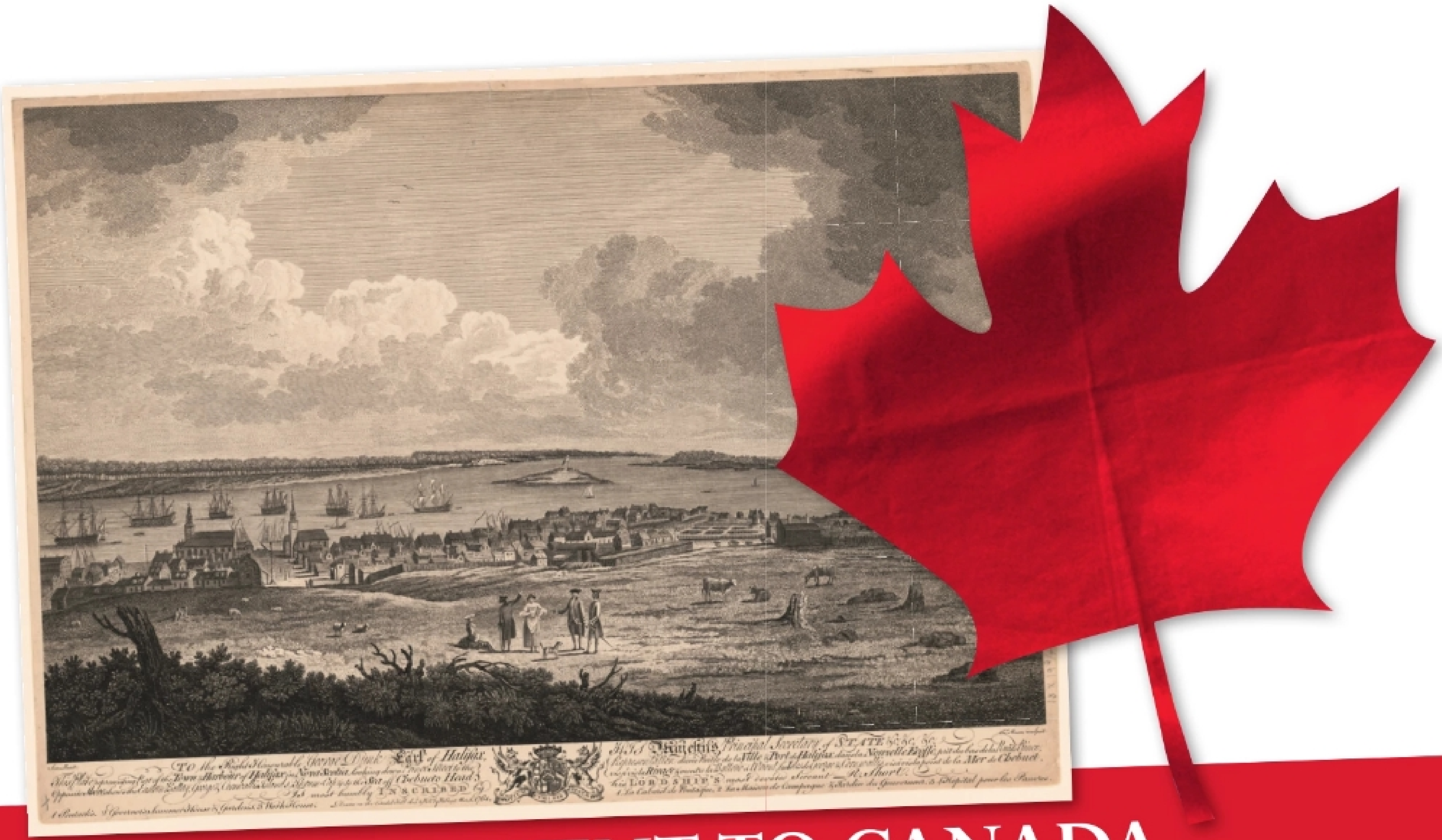
www.historyscotland.com

subscriptions@warnersgroup.co.uk

01778 392 463

Code: HIS/MayJun20

UK ONLY OFFER



THEY WENT TO CANADA...

Christine Woodcock takes a look at how to find out more about the lives of Scottish ancestors who moved to Canada, whether with the military, through business or as part of a settlement scheme

Scotland and Canada share a lengthy history, dating back to 1624 when James VI offered a number of baronetcies to his loyal landowners. These land grants were in Nova Scotia. In order to fulfil the qualifications of receiving crown land, the receiver was to stand on his plot of land and declare allegiance to the king. The distance involved called for some creativity and so King James VI/I declared a portion of Edinburgh castle as 'Nova Scotia' so that the potential landowners could stand on this 'portion of Nova Scotia' and declare their allegiance without having to travel to the colonies.

Ideas for tracing military ancestors

The 84th regiment of foot was raised in Fort Edward, Province of New York, from Scottish soldiers who had served in the Seven Years' War and stayed in North America. This resulted in the 84th regiment of foot (1756-63) being one of the oldest regiments, with some of the most experienced officer corps in the colonies. The 84th regiment of foot was key to protecting Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces during the Revolutionary War.

After the Revolutionary War, soldiers in the Scottish regiments who had remained loyal to the crown were granted land in Canada. These land grants were strategically placed along the St Lawrence Seaway, much of which borders the United States and covers an area of 288,688 acres. In 1784, Inverness-shire highlanders arrived to join the new settlements. The most notable of these is the area that is now known as Glengarry, Ontario.

If your Scottish ancestors went to Canada as soldiers, land grants for Upper Canada (Ontario) can be found on the Library & Archives Canada website: **https://scot.sh/landgrant**, with land grants for Lower Canada (Quebec) at this link: **https://scot.sh/landgrant1**.

The pay roll and muster books for the 84th regiment of foot have been transcribed and can be found on the University of New Brunswick's Loyalist Collection website, a collection of primary documents pertaining to the experiences of those supportive of the British cause during the American Revolution, including post-war resettlement. Visit: **https://scot.sh/muster**

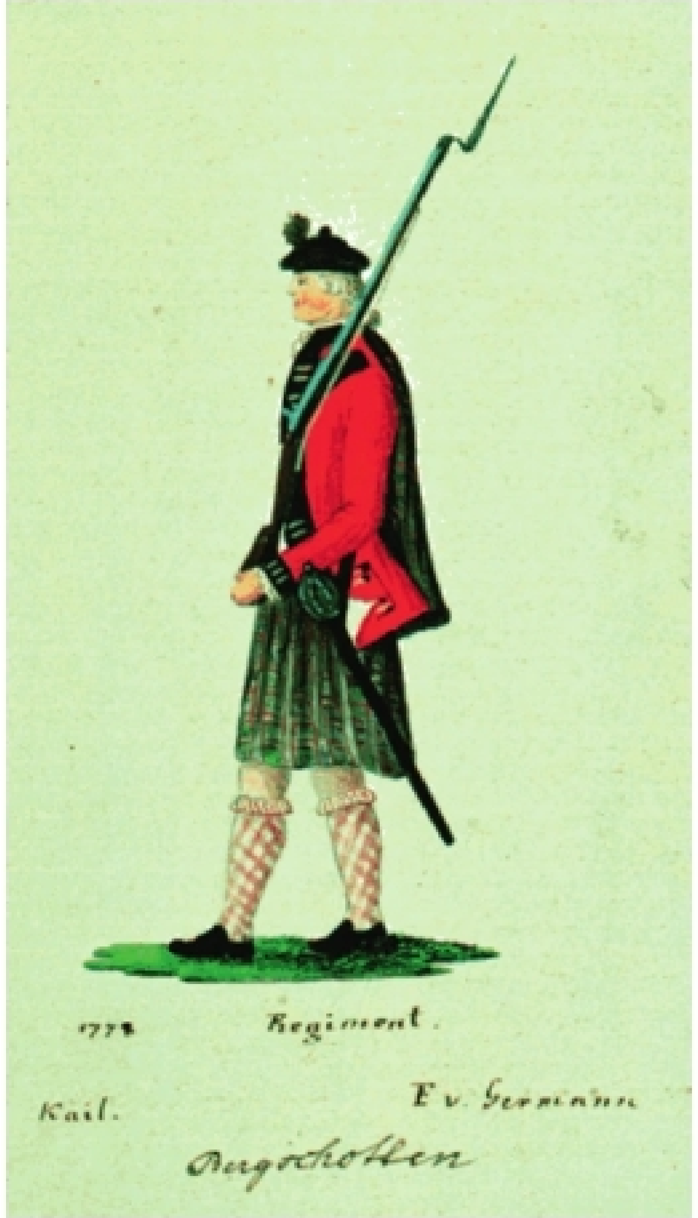
Part of the town and harbour of Halifax in Nova Scotia, looking down Prince Street, engraving by James Mason *c.*1760-1770

Hudson's Bay recruits

In the late 18th century the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) appointed Scottish merchant David Geddes to be their recruiting officer in Stromness, Orkney, where the company's ships stopped for supplies. The men recruited were indentured for a period of five years, after which they had the option to return to Scotland or continue working for the HBC in Canada.

By 1799, three quarters of the men employed by the HBC were Orcadian and this connection between Orkney and the HBC carried on into the early 1900s. In the early 1800s, HBC was also recruiting in Lewis and Harris. Many Scotsmen had what were known as 'country wives' and set up families with local Cree women. Some men from Orkney left their 'country wives' and families behind when they returned to Scotland, where the Hebridean couples were reunited, however some Cree descendants exist on Lewis to this day. The children of these Scotsmen were later granted Metis status.

If your Orcadian or Hebridean ancestor worked for the Hudson's Bay Company, you might wish to consult the records of the HBC



Soldier of the 84th Regiment of Foot

which are located at the Manitoba Archives in Winnipeg: **www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives**.

The HBC has recently digitised these records at: **www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca**.

Biographical sheets are available online at: **https://scot.sh/biog** and these records will give you the employee's name and parish, the year he entered service with the HBC, his position, post and district. Also included are the names of his wife and children, if any.

Nova Scotia and St John's island

In the last decade of the 18th century, communities of roman catholics from Uist were shipped off to Nova Scotia, many of them settling in the Cape Breton region on the north eastern part of Nova Scotia. Families from Lochaber were sent to the Island of St John's (now Prince Edward Island) and later became known as the Glenalladale settlers.

Families from Oban were sent to Pictou, Nova Scotia, aboard the *Hector*, Canada's equivalent of the *Mayflower*. These early Scots immigrants were almost exclusively Gaelic-speaking. Indeed, Gaelic was the third most common language in Canada at this time. Many highlanders continued to practise their Roman catholic faith and held on to their customs and traditions. They arrived in groups, bringing their families and communities with them and providing them with a support network as they banded together to build new homes and set up their communities.

There was a so-called 'wigwam' village set up on Prince Edward Island where immigrants lived for the first few months until they could clear land and build themselves a home. One can only imagine their shock upon arrival in this new country. Most would never have swung an axe in their lives, yet they were required to clear forest in order to build a home. Back in Scotland, houses were often built from the stones easily collected from the nearby surroundings. However, in Canada, they needed to learn how to make log cabins. The Mi'kmaq were instrumental in assisting these new arrivals in learning to adapt to their landscape, use tools and live off the land.

In the first decade of the 19th century, a number of families from the Outer Hebrides emigrated to Prince Edward Island with the assistance of Thomas Douglas, 5th earl of Selkirk (1771-1820). Each of these families were given subsidies for their land, which was parcelled off in 50- to 150-acre lots. These early Selkirk settlers arrived in 1803 aboard three ships: the *Polly* (carrying passengers from Skye), the *Dykes* (with Mull passengers, as well as the Earl of Selkirk) and the *Oughton*, with around 40 passengers from Uist. Later settlers from Colonsay, Oronsay and Tiree arrived in 1806 aboard the *Spencer*.

The island of St John's changed its name to Prince Edward Island at the end of the 18th century; it was the island of St John's in 1792 when the Glenalladale settlers arrived, and was Prince Edward island by the time Lord Selkirk brought his highland settlers in 1803.

The Marquess of Lothian was charged with overseeing colonization. In the muniments of Lothian (NRS/GD293/2/18) there is a memorial (memo) of John Stuart, Esq, regarding the acquisition of land on Prince Edward Island. This memo, dated 26 March 1803 discusses the lands of Stanhope Baronet being divided into 'lotts (sic)':

> *…the lands being carniferous for trade and plantations directed a survey to be made dividing it into 67 lotts or townships of 20,000 acres each.*

The conditions of sale for the lots were laid out as:

> *£60 for each of 26 lotts*
> *£40 for each of 29 lotts and*
> *£20 for each of the remaining 11 lotts*
>
> *One half of the sum to be payable after 5 years from the date of acquisition. The grantees shall settle their lotts within 10 years from the date of their respective grants in the proportion of 200 acres for each person.*

If one third of the lands were not settled in that proportion within four years, the unsettled lands were to return to the crown. Further, it was determined that within seven years, those who had settled would then be in legal possession of their lands.

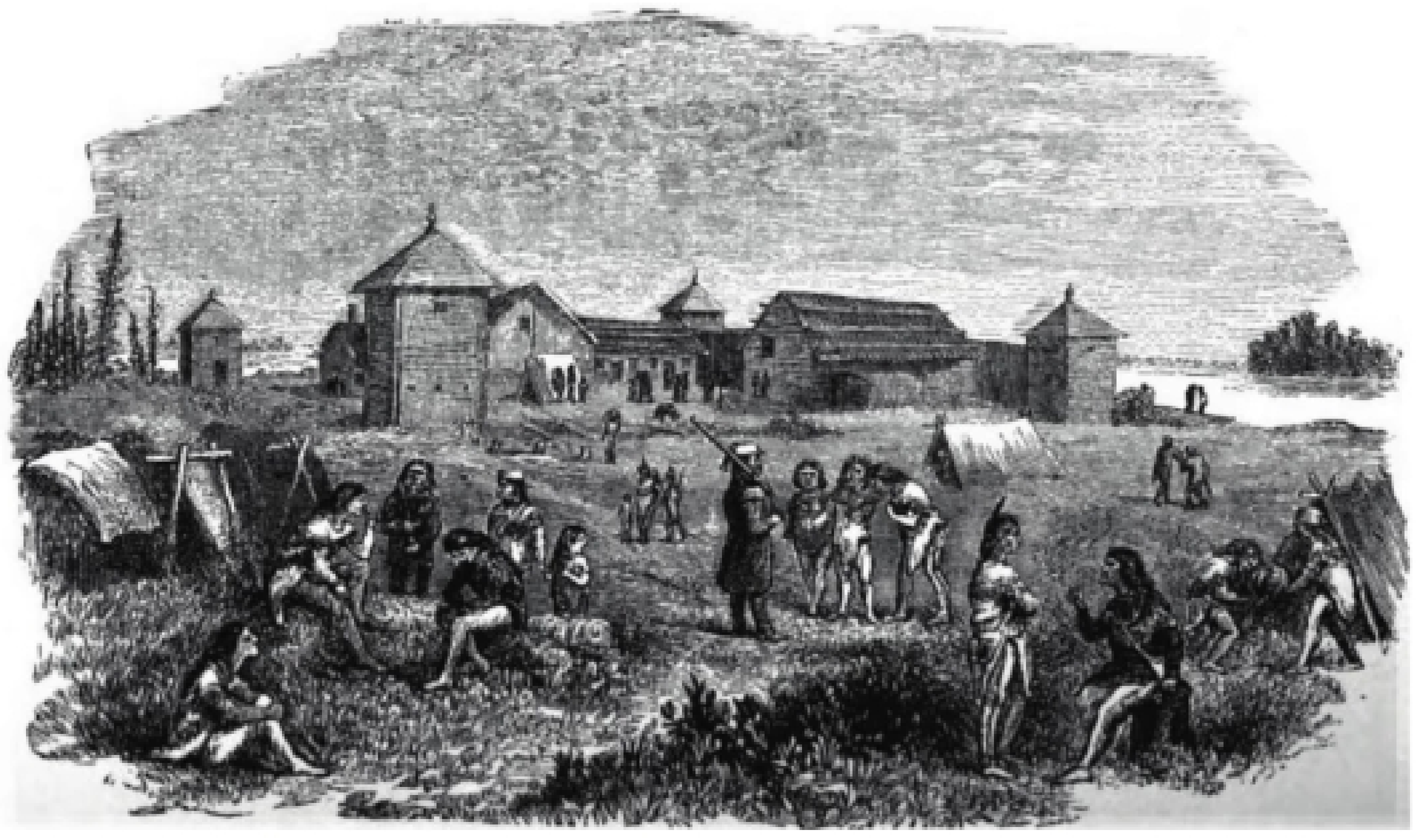
Highland chieftain John MacDonald took advantage of the availability of land on the island and purchased large swathes of land where he then sent families from his estate in Uist.

If your highland or Hebridean ancestor left for Canada between 1790 and 1806, you may wish to consult:

- The Prince Edward Island Historical Society: **https://peigs.ca**
- The Belfast Historical Society: **https://selkirksettlersinpei.wordpress.com**
- Island Register, for Prince Edward island genealogical information: **www.islandregister.com**
- The Nova Scotia Archives: **https://archives.novascotia.ca**
- Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia: **https://novascotiaancestors.ca**
- Hector Descendants: **www.shiphectordescendants.ca**
- Lord Selkirk's papers: **https://scot.sh/selkirkpapers**
- The Archives of Ontario also have a number of letters pertaining to Lord Selkirk and his settlers: **https://scot.sh/ontario**

Upper Canada/Ontario

The first emigrant office in Upper Canada was opened in 1833 in Toronto. Many immigrants were assisted by the Toronto emigrant office. These records are available at the



A station of the Hudson's Bay Company from *Eleven years in the Rocky Mountains and a life on the frontier* (author unknown), 1877

Archives of Ontario. The indexes are fully searchable and available online here: **www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/db/hawke.aspx**.

These online indexes give you the name, nationality, name of ship and year of entry. The records themselves are available on microfilm.

In keeping with the timeline of the clearances of the Hebridean islands, waves of Scots immigrants began once again in the mid 19th century. In the early 1840s, 998 highland crofters left South Uist and Benbecula and emigrated to Middlesex county in Ontario. This was part of the massive acreage of land known as the Huron Tract, which was opened by the Canada Company. The Huron tract consisted of 2,484,000 acres of land in western Ontario, north of Lake Erie, south of Lake Huron and encompassing lands east of Lake St Clair.

The Huron tract was managed by John Galt, who saw the tract as an agricultural settlement, with the land owned by individual farmers. Settlers were attracted by the prospect of owning land, an opportunity not easily afforded them in Scotland. The land within the Huron tract comprised some of the richest and most fertile farming country in Ontario. and the largest group of settlers along the Huron tract were from Scotland. Land records can be found on the Library and Archives Canada website: **www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/microfilm/canco.aspx**.

Settling the West

The building of the railroad opened new opportunities for settlement. The west was settled in a more systematic fashion than the east had been. Each land grant came with barns, livestock and a fully furnished home. The idea of having the farms stocked was to make them revenue-bearing right from the start of the farmer's tenure, providing greater opportunity for success for the new immigrants. Being revenue-bearing also meant that the farmer could begin to repay his loan back to the Canada North-West company.

The Canada North-West Land Company provided eleven settlements in the provinces of what is now Manitoba and the province of Alberta. These settlements were 30 miles apart from each other, extending along the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Each community comprised 10,000 acres and in the centre of each settlement, 640 acres were to be dedicated to the 'village' including shops, a school and a church. The outlying areas were to be divided into 1,000 acre lots which were to be completely fenced, and were to come equipped with:

- A farmhouse
- Furniture
- Stables
- A barn
- Cattle and sheep sheds
- 50 sheep & five cattle
- One mare & one sow

Each settlement area (village) was to share ploughs, wagons and rakes. Each farmer paid £100 and was loaned £192 by the settlement company working with the Canada North-West Land Company. Canada North-West Land Company archives are available at University of Calgary in their Glenbow Archives Collection: **https://scot.sh/glenbow**

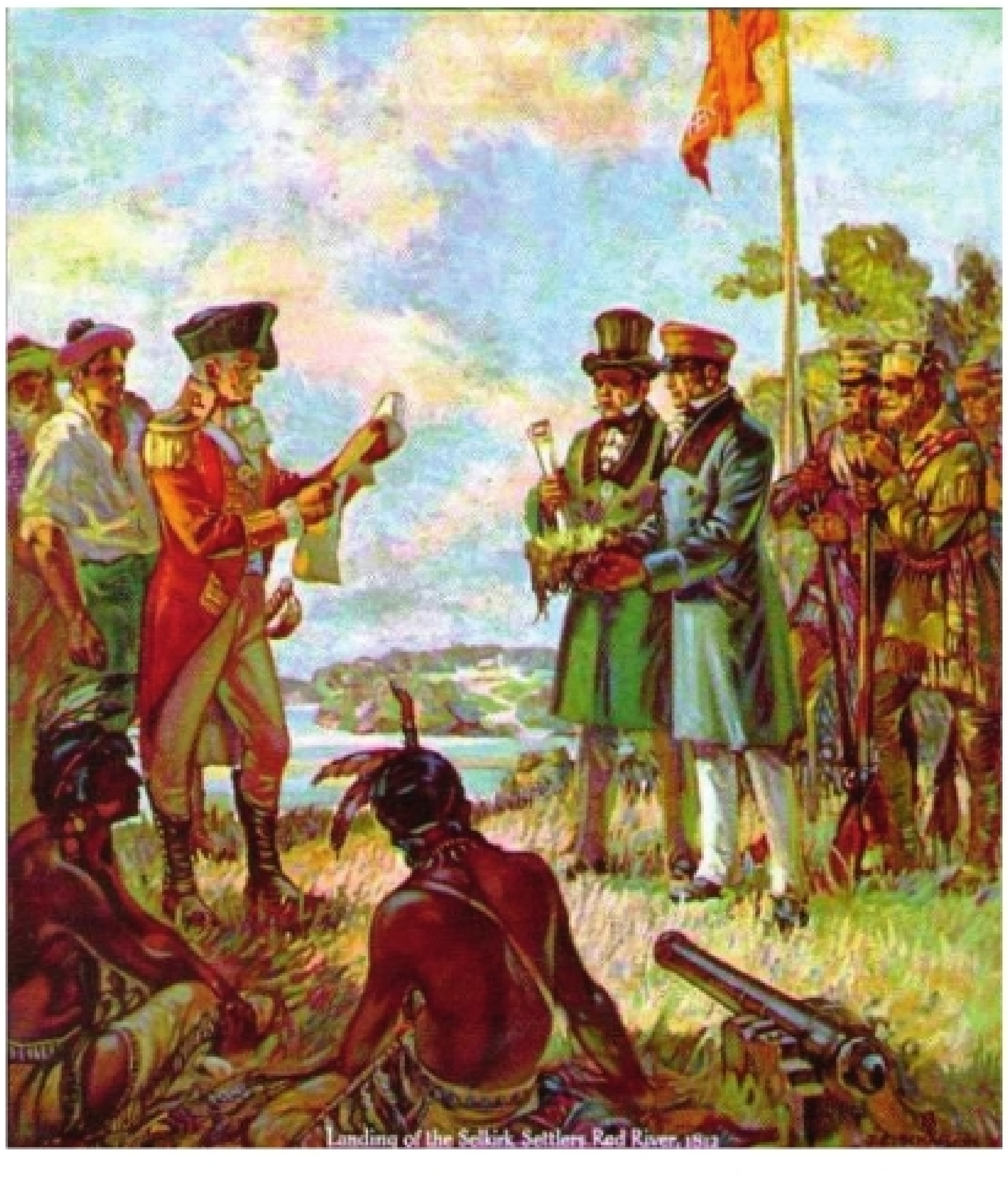
The primary purpose in creating these settlements up was to prevent any one family from becoming isolated, by having people emigrate with family or neighbours from their community and placing them together in their new country, meaning just as back in Scotland, settlers were surrounded by people they knew and were able to carry on the traditions and customs of their lives back in Scotland, in the hope that they could settle quickly and happily.

The purpose in having the farms come fully equipped was to alleviate the hardships of the earlier settlement schemes by providing the farmer with a fully equipped farm that quickly offered a means of earning a living, whereby the family could begin to repay their loan that much sooner.

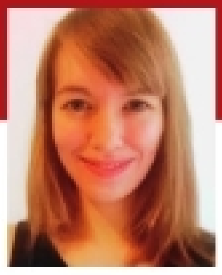
Many of the settlers 'out west' gave up farming grain and crops and turned to cattle, which was much more profitable. Although these settlers were initially unable to make their loan payments to the Canada North-West Land Company, they were land owners. These settlements offered the new immigrants an opportunity that would never have been a possibility in their homeland – and was a far cry from the destitution they had in many cases left behind.

Christine Woodcock is a genealogy educator with an expertise in Scottish research. As an emigrant herself, Christine has a keen interest in emigration stories.

Website: genealogytoursofscotland.ca

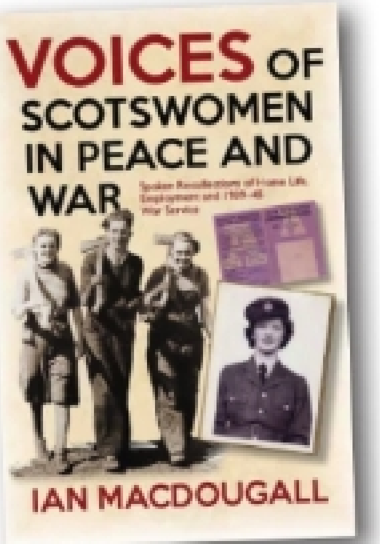

Landing of the Selkirk Settlers Red River, 1812

Landing of the Selkirk settlers, Red River, 1812, J.E. Schaflein, HBCA, PAM P-388 (N11312), HBC's 1924 calendar illustration, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba



Voices from the past

Sarah Moxey *enjoys a long-awaited oral history of Scotswomen's World War II experiences*



Voices of Scotswomen in Peace and at War: Spoken Recollections of Home Life, Employment and 1939-45 War Service

Ian MacDougall
Birlinn, 2019
448 pages; paperback, £25.00
ISBN: 9781910900321

'Is that the book you're reading at the moment?' my friend Megan asks me as we sit down for a coffee.

'Yes, I'm actually reviewing it for *History Scotland*. Why, have you read it?' I reply.

'I have, yes, because my great grandmother is in it,' Megan answers nonchalantly.

I was astonished. It was one of those moments when all you can really say is 'goodness me, isn't it a small world?!' Indeed, the idea of expanding your horizons beyond a small self-contained world is at the heart of this volume of collected testimonies, which covers the life experiences of nineteen women from across Scotland. The women interviewed mostly reflect on their Second World War service in one of the three branches of the armed forces or the Timber Corps.

MacDougall has put together the testimonies with a deft touch, allowing each respondent to tell her story as though you, the reader, were conversing with her

The volume has been compiled by Dr Ian MacDougall, who has written numerous volumes showcasing the working lives of Scottish people, from librarians to miners. He is to be commended for the commitment he has displayed in bringing this book to publication, having commenced the project in 1998. His work on projects for the Scottish Working People's History Trust and bouts of ill-health have occasioned the delay. The wait has certainly been worthwhile, as the volume is entertaining, insightful and thought-provoking.

MacDougall has put together the testimonies with a deft touch, allowing each respondent to tell her story as though you, the reader, were conversing with her. He has helpfully provided footnotes to clarify any information mentioned in the interview that may not be common knowledge. While the focus of the interviews is on wartime experiences, the women also reflect on details of their childhoods and the aftermath of the war. The book highlights details of social and even political history from the pre-war era. These sections will interest social and cultural historians of Scotland, and often add a dash of humour to the narrative.

The most striking aspect of this volume is how the women feel about their wartime experiences. Almost all reflect entirely positively on their time; Christina Chisholm remarked: 'I wouldn't have missed it for anything' (p.51). They talk fondly and at length about how the war gave them a broader outlook on life. Indeed, some women were reluctant to return to the normality of civilian life as they missed the friendships and freedoms they had enjoyed during the war. Many remarked that the war allowed them to mingle with people they would never otherwise have met. Although several respondents commented on the class dynamics at play when mixing with women from different backgrounds, in general they did not remember snobbery lasting long. One interviewee, Jean Crosbie, declared: 'I firmly believe familiarity breeds respect, not contempt' (p.85).

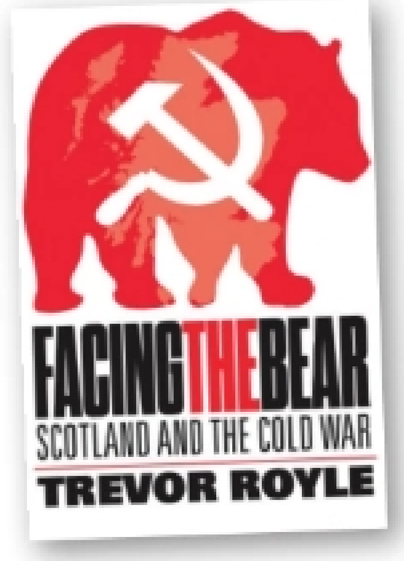
This volume is essentially an anthology of female testimonies. It does not present historical arguments, and MacDougall's perspective appears only in the introduction. Instead, MacDougall opens the floor to his interviewees, allowing them to present their own stories with only minor edits for the purposes of readability. This in no way prevents the volume from being a worthwhile contribution to the historical record, and useful for the interested amateur and the illustrious academic alike.

Oral history as a discipline frequently struggles to be taken seriously, as the sources are often deemed unreliable. This is ironic, really, as an early lesson when studying history at school is that any source may be biased or contain inaccuracies. The scholarly merit of this volume should not be underrated. Oral historians act as our intermediary with the recent past. They have asked the questions of our grandparents' or great-grandparents' generations that we never had the opportunity or the awareness to ask. The valuable recollections in this book illuminate an area of history that otherwise would have been lost, and one for which written records are in short supply. This is accessible history, readable history. It can be consumed in one sitting or perused when the mood strikes. MacDougall should be commended for his work on compiling this volume, and ensuring that the stories of his interviewees can finally command a space in the historical record of World War II.

Sarah Moxey is a librarian in Special Collections at the National Library of Scotland. She is reading for a PhD in Scottish history, focusing on Scottish politics during World War II.

Scotland on the front line

***Rebecca Hay** reflects on an ambitious new account of Scotland's involvement in the Cold War*



Facing the Bear: Scotland and the Cold War
Trevor Royle
Birlinn, 2019
368 pages
Hardcover, £25.00
ISBN: 9781780275260

Trevor Royle's *Facing the Bear* is an ambitious *tour de force* that seeks to position Scotland on the front line of the Cold War. This necessitates a wide scope; the book combines discussion of the context and events that shaped the Cold War with intimate details of Scotland's particular involvement both at home and abroad. Use of recently-declassified material and the depth of detail Royle provides will please those who are already knowledgeable on the topic, while his narrative style and journalist's eye for a good story will engage the more general reader.

Scotland's geographical location meant that it was the 'northern flank' in any potential conflict with the Soviet Union, while also facing the United States to the west. In addition, the Scottish terrain offered ideal training for a variety of military exercises. Such circumstances made the development of military bases inevitable, although their number and scope is perhaps still surprising. Ten per cent of British naval and air bases were located in 'Fortress Scotland', and Royle meticulously details their operations. The extent of military activity over the skies and in the seas around Scotland led to dangerous war games. Tales of 'near misses' and high tension are exciting, but Royle also draws attention to potential Scottish fatalities. In February 1985 a Kirkcudbright fishing trawler, the *Mhairi L*, disappeared with the loss of all five crew. Although this was officially explained as a tragic accident caused by entanglement with underwater cables, Royle makes a case for suspecting that it might have been the result of a submarine attack.

As expected, the US bases at Holy Loch and Edzell, occupied for 31 and 37 years respectively, play a significant part in the book. The impact of these bases on local areas has been the subject of much debate, but Royle is fair and balanced in his assessment. His treatment of the assimilation of the 'Yanks' combines both military and human detail, and provides some of the most lively and colourful portions of the book. Salacious stories of call girls and illegitimate children (Dunoon's illegitimacy rate rose from 6.3 per cent of births to 15.3 per cent in just one year) intermingle with heart-warming accounts of children being educated together, or shared Thanksgivings and Burns Night suppers. Also notable is the high rate of marriages between American military personnel and local girls: Ezdell base alone saw an estimated 300. As well as considering these local repercussions, Royle goes into depth regarding the political, economic and cultural effects of the Cold War on Scotland as a whole. Chapter 5, entitled 'Ding Dang Dollar', after a song popularised by the Anti-Polaris Singers, makes particularly vibrant use of musical sources to document Scottish reactions to events.

> ***As expected, the US bases at Holy Loch and Edzell, occupied for 31 and 37 years respectively, play a significant part in the book. The impact of these bases on local areas has been the subject of much debate, but Royle is fair and balanced in his assessment***

Royle is most able to exploit his military expertise in the portions of the book that deal with the role of Scots abroad. In the past he has tackled conflicts ranging from the War of the Three Kingdoms to the Crimean War, but Royle is best known for his writings on the experiences of Scots in the World Wars of the 20th century. In dealing with the Scots in Germany and Korea, he follows a similar style, combining military detail with gripping stories of regiments or individuals. Historians have tragically overlooked the role that the Scots, in particular the Black Watch, played in Korea, but Royle goes some way towards righting this wrong. He conveys both the brutality of the fighting and the horrors of the conditions, particularly for those many thousand who were taken prisoner.

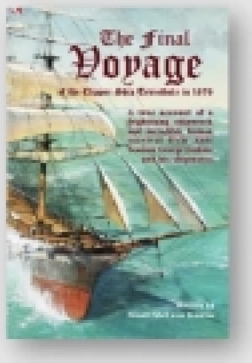
It is little wonder that Jim Laird, paralysed from the waist down after an explosion, could not find enjoyment in the American comedy series *M*A*S*H*, which was based on mobile army surgical hospitals that catered to the wounded. There are tales of heroism and the award of Victoria crosses for inspiring action, but Royle also relates the curious case of Andrew Condron, a British marine from Bathgate, captured by the forces of North Korea in November 1950. At the cessation of hostilities Condron chose not to be repatriated but instead moved to Communist China and was labelled a deserter. He attended university, worked as a translator and married a Chinese diplomat's daughter, but returned the UK in 1962 after becoming disenchanted with Mao Tse-Tung's regime.

The final portion of the book analyses the present and looks to the future. Due attention is paid to the Trident debate, which is again handled in a tactful and balanced way. Consideration is given to recent political events at home, and how they might be understood as ripples from the abrupt end of the Cold War.

Royle weighs up the threat posed by Putin's Russia, and although he suggests that a future Cold War is unlikely given Russia's relative weakness and America's distraction by other threats, he does clearly outline the increasing bluster and aggression from Russia in recent years, which has led to an increase in Russian submarines in and around Scottish waters. It is telling that the RAF base at Saxa Vord, on the most northerly Shetland island of Unst, closed in 2006 but became fully operational again last summer. Perhaps this is a sign that on its northern flank, the story of the Scotland's Cold War isn't completely concluded yet.

Rebecca Hay has been teaching history in Scotland for fifteen years and has recently become president of the Scottish Association of Teachers of History.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

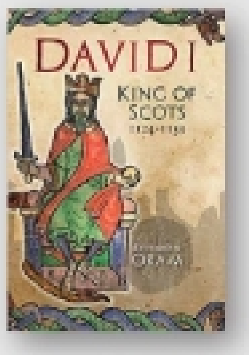


The final voyage of the clipper ship Teviotdale in 1876
By Stuart McEwen Jenkins
ISBN 9781916060203
Teviotdale, £10

A Victorian sea adventure which is the culmination of over a decade of research into the survival of the author's grandfather after the shipwreck of the *Teviotdale* in 1876.

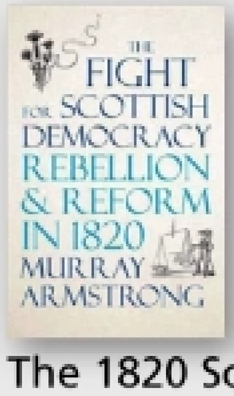
The Last Jacobite Heroine
By Euan MacPherson
ISBN 9781912750009
Menzies and Wood, £9.99

Historical fiction that tells the story of 'Colonel' Anne Mackintosh, who in 1745, raised a regiment of 500 men to join Prince Charles Edward Stuart in battle.



David I: King of Scots, 1124-1154
By Richard Oram
ISBN 9781910900291
John Donald, £80

Richard Oram explores the life of a man who was never expected to become king, but on succeeding to the throne in 1124, showed he had the skills, ruthlessness and ambition for the role.



The Fight for Scottish Democracy: Rebellion and Reform in 1820
By Murray Armstrong
ISBN 9780745341330
Pluto Press, £14.99

The 1820 Scottish general strike and insurrection is a little-known chapter of Scottish history and yet remains an important one in the fight for democracy. Murray Armstrong brings these events dramatically to life.

10 MINUTES ON

...THE GEORGE SQUARE RIOT, 1919

History Scotland's consultant editor, **Dr Allan Kennedy**, recounts the legendary 'battle of George Square' of January 1919, regarded by some at the time as the closest Britain even came to a bolshevik coup

The end and immediate aftermath of the First World War was a period of frenzied revolutionary activity across Europe. In Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary, deeply-entrenched regimes were swept away by popular agitation. Elsewhere, nervous governments watched for signs of imminent revolution, and in January 1919, British prime minister David Lloyd George, already dealing with one revolutionary headache in Ireland, thought he had found another in the form of an enormous rally-cum-riot held in Glasgow's George Square.

The George Square riot was the most high-profile incident in a wider upsurge in left-wing agitation that had been convulsing western-central Scotland since the earliest days of the war. Often referred to by the convenient – if arguably misleading – shorthand of 'red Clydeside', this movement had been marked by waves of strike action by industrial workers, as well as a damaging rent strike in 1915. The spirit carried forward into the post-war period. At the end of 1918, the Glasgow Workers' Committee, which had co-ordinated much of the earlier strike action, spearheaded a new strike in pursuit of a statutory 40-hour working week. Up to 70,000 workers went on strike as a result, most of them in Glasgow and its environs.

It was in support of the 40-hours strike that well over 50,000 workers, and perhaps up to 100,000, poured into George Square on 31 January 1919. As well as expressing support for the strike, these demonstrators had other grievances, in particular over rent levels. They were also infused by a more general determination that the sacrifice of the war should be rewarded with better working and living conditions for ordinary Scots. This mass demonstration made the authorities deeply uneasy; they knew from experience that many of the leaders of the 'red Clydeside' movement, most notably John Maclean, were convinced Marxists, and it seemed plausible that these people had facilitated the rally as the opening salvo in a Scottish bolshevik revolution.

George Square pictured *c.*1900. Between 50,000 and 100,000 people descended on the area in support of the 40-hours strike in January 1919

In fact, it seems unlikely that there was any concrete plan for initiating revolution; many of the demonstrators seem simply to have wished to express their grievances. Nonetheless, anybody who hoped that something dramatic might happen would surely have been thrilled by the authorities' response. Poor crowd control on the part of the police, including at one point a full-scale baton charge, sparked a fierce backlash. Horrific violence ensued, with running battles between demonstrators and the outnumbered police-force spilling out into surrounding streets and lingering until nightfall. Remarkably, nobody was killed, and by next day tempers had cooled, with no follow-up demonstrations taking place.

The absence of further violence after 31 January owed something to the robust response of Lloyd George's government. Prior to the demonstration, the government, responding to a request from the sheriff of Lanark, had already put the army on alert in case the expected gathering turned nasty. When news of the violence broke, six tanks and around 10,000 troops were immediately dispatched from England, arriving on the evening after the disturbances. The following morning, Glaswegians awoke to find soldiers positioned at machine-gun installations throughout the city, with the tanks, arriving a little later, held in reserve. It was a clear overreaction that said more about the jitteriness of the regime than about the severity of the riot itself.

While debate persists as to how far the events in George Square had the potential to spawn a revolution, what is incontestable is that none actually materialised. Nonetheless, the riot, and the wider 'red Clydeside' movement, influenced Glasgow politics for several years to come, leading to unprecedented electoral success for socialist and even communist candidates. But with the return of mass unemployment after 1920, the momentum stalled. As the privations of the interwar period dragged on and the prospects of overthrowing capitalism faded, the George Square riot passed into popular memory, correctly or not, as the great lost opportunity of the Scottish revolutionary left.

FURTHER READING

The Legend of Red Clydeside (Edinburgh, 1983), I. McLean

Spotlight on...

Appin Historical Society

The peninsula of Appin is a coastal district of the west highlands which, despite its small size, has a varied landscape of coast and mountains. The area was once home to lead mining and slate quarries, industries which have now given way to forestry and tourism.

Appin Historical Society was established in 1995 to promote research into the history of the area and to collect and publish material relating to Appin and district through meetings, lectures, field trips and publications.

Indoor meetings are held on the third Saturday of the month at Port Appin Hall, from September to March, and comprise a talk on the area's history and heritage. Over the years, the society has been involved with several projects, with a particular highlight being the Sgeir Bhuide light initiative. This 19th-century structure was scheduled for demolition by the Northern Lighthouse Board in 2001 and was saved thanks to a local campaign by the society, Appin community council and local residents.

The design of the new lighthouse was moderated to reflect the views of the campaign group and the old lantern section of the light was offered to the community on permanent loan. It was subsequently restored and displayed, with panels explaining its place in local history.

Left: The society promotes research into the history of the Appin district

Below: The society helped save the Sgeir Bhuide lighthouse from demolition and restored its lantern section to help tell the story of the area

How to join

Annual membership is £15 single/£20 joint which entitles attendance at all meetings and field trips, plus copies of the *Appin Archive*, sent to members twice a year.

Members are welcome from anywhere in the world. For more information, write c/o: Appin Community Co-operative Ltd, Port Appin, Argyll PA38 4DE; e-mail: appinhistoricalsociety@gmail.com; website: www.appinhistoricalsociety.co.uk

Wartime records

Discover more about family history at: www.family-tree.co.uk the online home of Family Tree magazine

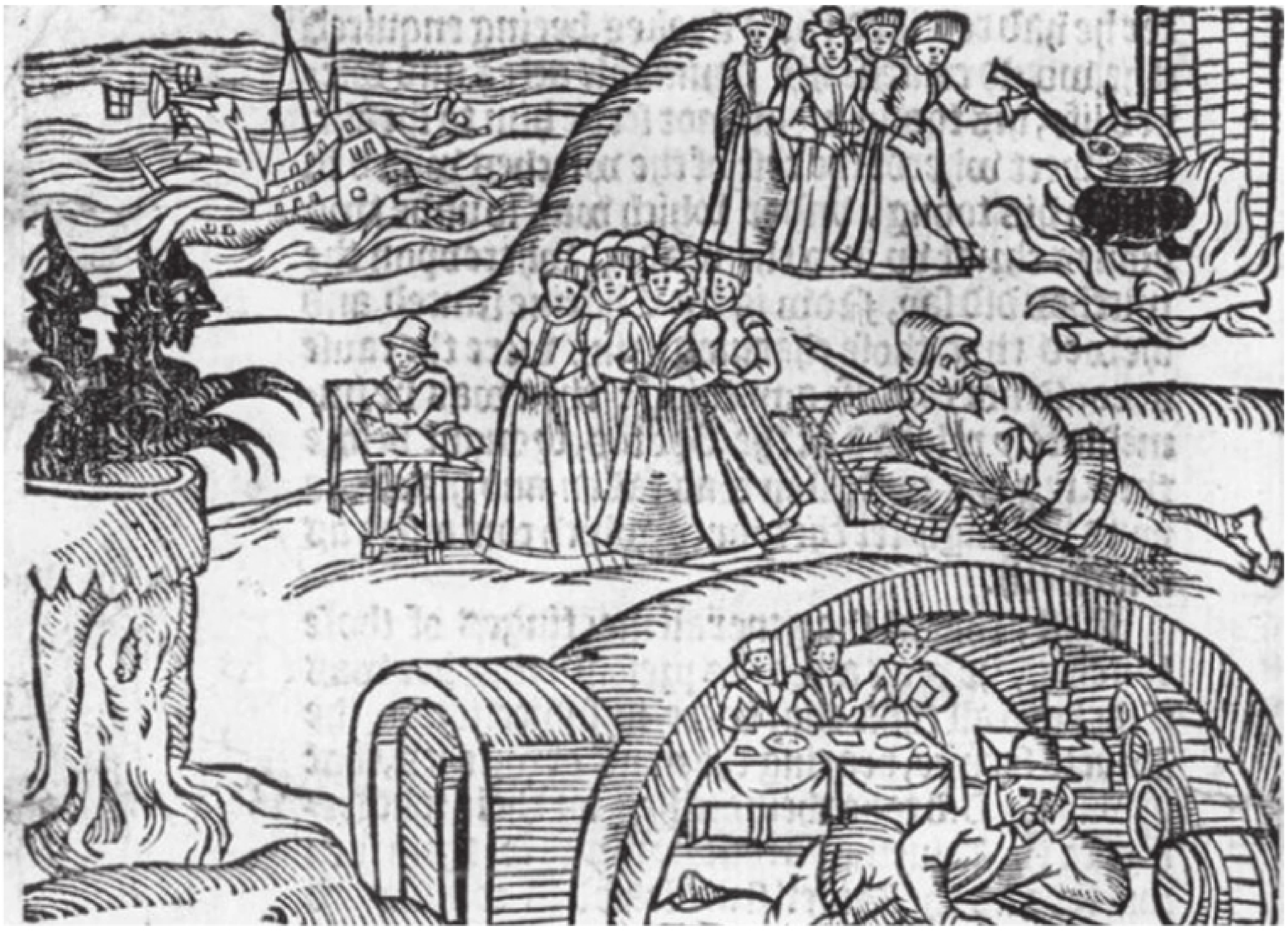
Ken Nisbet takes a look at resources for finding out more about ancestors who served in the Second World War, showing how detailed records of service, awards and gallantry can be discovered with a little ingenuity

This year sees the 75th anniversary of the ending of the Second World War, and whilst service records still currently have to be ordered through the **Ministry of Defence** at a cost of £30: https://scot.sh/mod, there are other sources that can be useful for research purposes. For casualties who died between 1939 and 1946 the **Commonwealth War Graves website** should be the first site looked at: www.cwgc.org. **ScotlandsPeople** has what are known as pay book wills for 1857-1965 in the legal records section of their website: https://scot.sh/legal

With regard to the commercial genealogy sites, **Ancestry** has UK and Allied prisoners of war 1939-45, UK British Army lists 1882-1962, Civil Defence gallantry awards 1940-49, Second World War medals issued to merchant seamen 1939-45, Second World War Royal Artillery tracer cards 1939-48. **FindMyPast** has the Army Roll of Honour 1939-45, British Army casualty lists 1939-45, Burma Star Association membership forms, Royal Artillery – other ranks, casualty cards 1939-45.

The Genealogist: www.thegenealogist.co.uk has a number of lists and is currently digitising the Royal Air Force Squadron operation books. Some of these records can also be sourced through the UK National Archives website: https://scot.sh/ww2. For gallantry medals and their citations and also officer appointments and promotions **The Gazette:** www.thegazette.co.uk is free to use. Just as with the Great War, local newspapers can also be a very useful source on service personnel from a local area. I have found that with the Royal Air Force it is always worth entering the squadron number in Google as many squadrons have quite detailed sites. If your relative was on a vessel that was sunk by a U-boat, again enter the name of the vessel in Google and you should find some quite detailed information on the sinking and perhaps a photograph of the wreck if it sank in British waters.

Ken Nisbet is secretary of the Scottish Genealogy Society and of the Scottish Association of Family History Societies and is on the user group for the Family History Centre in Edinburgh. He is a regular lecturer to Scotland's family history societies. He has written a number of books, all of which are published by the Scottish Genealogy Society, and tutors some of the classes the society runs.



The North Berwick witches, from a contemporary pamphlet Newes From Scotland

THE 'WITCH' WHO WALKED FREE

Dr Annie Tindley explores a text that tells the story of Geillis Johnstone, a Musselburgh woman accused of witchcraft who managed to walk free from the courts after almost five years of legal trials

As explored in the article on page 22 of this issue, belief in and responses to witchcraft in early modern Scottish society is an intriguing and important part of any understanding of social and gender relations, as well as political and legal perspectives of the time. The Society has published a good deal in relation to witches and witchcraft and looks forward to two new volumes on the subject due to be published soon. In the meantime, we can re-visit the travails of Geillis Johnstone, a Musselburgh woman who came under the unfriendly eye of first her neighbours, who publicly accused her of witchcraft in 1609, and then the church and legal authorities who subsequently tried her. Her case generated a remarkable set of documents, allowing us to understand the experience of a single, poor woman – a rare privilege for this period – against the tumultuous background of the Scottish and wider European history.

After Geillis was accused of witchcraft and consorting with witches, she was brought before the Dalkeith presbytery, who quickly found her guilty. Now facing execution, Johnstone – seemingly with the help of relatives – took her case to the privy council and took a legal line of defence. In her case she argued that the presbytery should not have jurisdiction over her trial, but instead she should be tried by a state court. The privy council agreed, and the conviction of the presbytery was overturned. She now faced a second trial, this time in the regality court and nearly five years later in 1614 she was acquitted of all charges, and she walked out of the courts and the historical record.

The archival records relating to the Scottish witchcraze are a rich and hugely significant resource for the historian. They allow us an insight into the lives of ordinary women living through extraordinary and terrifying experiences. They also highlight the battle between society and the Devil and his works which occupied the energies of many in the early modern period, and the more prosaic battle between the church and the state for supremacy over Scottish citizens, a battle which the state would eventually win.

'The trial of Geillis Johnstone for witchcraft, 1614', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History XIII*, series 5, volume 14 (2004), edited by Michael B. Wasser and Louise A. Yeoman. Read the text at: scot.sh/geillis

The Scottish History Society is the leading publisher of original sources relating to the history of Scotland. Founded in 1886, the Society has published over 170 volumes; taken together, these form a collection of great richness and variety illustrating the history of the nation as recorded by contemporaries. Membership is open to all and benefits include a free hard copy of our annual volume, and invitations to our events, including our AGM, Presidential Lecture and Publications Workshops. To join, please see: https://scottishhistorysociety.com/the-society/how-to-join/. Our entire publications list has also been recently digitised in partnership with the National Library of Scotland. To access the digital edition for free, please see: https://digital.nls.uk/scottish-history-society-publications.

Dr Annie Tindley is communications officer for the Scottish History Society and Senior Lecturer in History at Newcastle University.

history
SCOTLAND
Volume 20, Number 3
May/June 2020
www.historyscotland.com

EDITORIAL
Editor: Rachel Bellerby
rachelb@warnersgroup.co.uk
Tel: 0113 200 2922

Consultant Editor: Dr Allan Kennedy
School of Humanities, University of
Dundee, DD1 4HN
editorial@historyscotland.com

Reviews Editor: Dr Martha McGill
reviews@historyscotland.com

Submission guidelines:
http://scot.sh/writeforHS

ADMINISTRATION
Warners Group Publications
Fifth Floor, 31-32 Park Row,
Leeds, LS1 5JD

Publisher: Collette Lloyd
Associate Publisher: Matthew Hill
Senior Designer: Nathan Ward
Designers: Mary Ward, Rajneet Gill,
Jackie Grainger

Advertising Manager: Sarah Hopton
0113 200 2925
sarah.hopton@warnersgroup.co.uk

Marketing: Lauren Freeman
lauren.freeman@warnersgroup.co.uk
Tel: 0113 200 2916

History Scotland Subscriptions
Warners Group Publications
The Maltings, Bourne, PE10 9PH
subscriptions@warnersgroup.co.uk
Tel: 01778 392 463

history
SCOTLAND

Subscription details on page 52
Join History Scotland and save!

July/Aug issue:
on sale 13 June 2020
History Scotland is published bi-monthly by
Warners Group Publications ISSN: 1475-5270
Printed by Warners (Midlands) plc,
The Maltings, Bourne, Lincs PE10 9PH
Distribution by Warners Group Publications plc

History news and events direct to your inbox
Sign up for our free newsletter to receive history news, expert articles and more. Register at: https://scot.sh/hsenews

The views expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the publisher. Every care is taken to ensure that the contents of the magazine are accurate, but the publisher assumes no responsibility for errors. While reasonable care is taken when accepting advertisements, the publisher cannot accept responsibility for any resulting unsatisfactory transactions, but will immediately investigate any written complaints. Copyright: No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted without the prior written permission of the publisher. ©WARNERS GROUP PUBLICATIONS PLC 2020

FINAL WORD

Professor Murray Pittock, Bradley Professor and Pro Vice-Principal at the University of Glasgow, talks to *History Scotland* about the findings of a major research project he headed, which assessed to what extent the global fascination with Robert Burns supports Scottish businesses and jobs

How soon after the death of Robert Burns did his economic impact on Scotland begin?

The economic impact of Burns on the Scottish economy can be traced back to the first Burns supper of 1801. Within a relatively short period of time (there was a Burns supper at Bombay/Mumbai as early as 1810, for example) this practice had begun to spread across the globe, and today some 9.5 million people are estimated to attend Burns suppers worldwide. In the 1820s, the development of Burns Country and indeed Highland Mary Country started to draw tourists to Inverclyde and Ayrshire, and this flow massively increased with the extension of the railway into Ayrshire with the Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock and Ayr Railway in 1839-40. The significant migration from rural Scotland into the cities and the extent that Burns characterised a nostalgic vision of a rural past in poems such as *The Cottar's Saturday Night* led to visits from the cities by those in search of the Scotland they had left.

What can Scotland learn from other countries when it comes to promoting heritage tourism connected to globally-known historic figures?

The key takeaway from the report is that Scotland needs to have greater ownership (and therefore knowledge) of its culture and be prepared to market it. The people of a country are the best salesforce for that country. That means better education and awareness of our culture. Currently we are in a rather ridiculous position where it is often said that we don't want to cheapen our culture for the tourist market, but we do not actually know much about the culture we are supposed to be defending from this commercialisation. This paradox exists because people are uncomfortable about promoting Scots culture. It never bothered John Buchan! To take one example, there is almost certainly not a town in the world with four houses where a global writer lived still standing except for one: Dumfries and environs. And how many people know that?

What are your thoughts on balancing the desired growth from Burns-related food, drink and memorabilia with the literary and cultural element of the Burns brand?

This is a big opportunity. Often in Scotland, we have marketed produce and culture separately. But in fact our produce is our culture: who in France would think their food was not their culture? And Burns is in a sweet spot to bring food and drink and poetry and song together: that is what every Burns supper is about, after all. The growth of experience tourism is also just as applicable to special meals as special places, and people are increasingly drawn to humanely- and sustainably-produced food and drink; local specialities with short supply chains.

We ask too much of people if we ask them to be total Burns enthusiasts or not to bother turning up. Brand awareness and the power of historic celebrity is transmitted by images on a whisky bottle or a bag of tablet as much as by a poem. Ten years ago, I received funding for a major project, *Robert Burns Beyond Text: Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909*, which examined Burns memorabilia and statues in the 19th century and concluded that the poems and songs we think of as famous today became so not through literary criticism as much as by objects [for details, see: scot.sh/burns research].

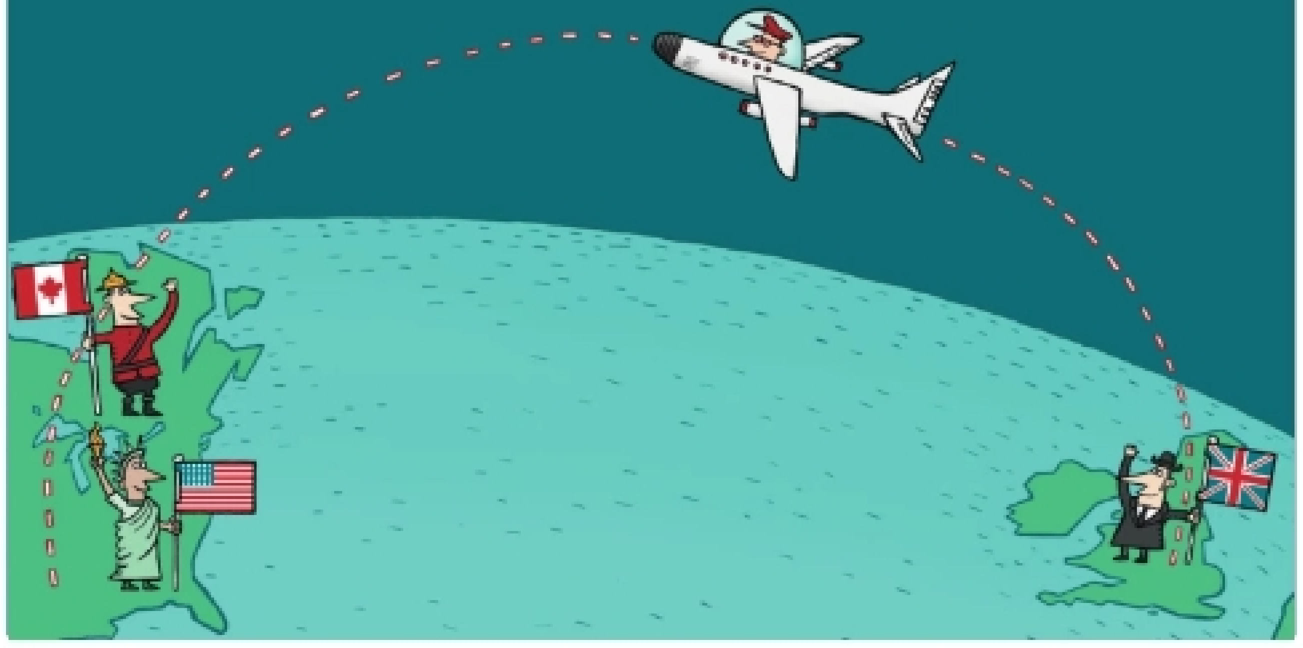
Centre for Robert Burns Studies website: https://scot.sh/burnscentre

Image credits: Cover and p32 © Rijks Museum; :p6-7 German trade roures © Mark Gardiner, Carnegie portrait © University of Dundee, Busta House © Rude Health/ Busta House Hotel; p8-11 © Heritage Archaeological Research Practice; p12 © University of Aberdeen; p13 © University of Stirling Archives; p14 gloves in glass case © University of Stirling Archives, gloves and guest photo © Michael Schofield; p15 © Michael Schofield; p16 Map by Chris Fleet, National Library of Scotland, using Vintage Shaded Relief background layer (Kenneth Townsend, NASA, Natural Earth, and John Nelson); p17 Mary Macdonald © National Trust Images, Arlington © Xibber; p19 © Mick Knapton; p22-25 © University of Edinburgh; p26 tamer © Library of Congress, Call no PGA -Gibson & Co, repro no LC-DIG-pga-03749; Brock's Dreamland © Library of Congress, reproduction no LC-D401-18322; p28 The Young Widow © Yale Centre for British Art; p33-35 Carmichaelia © Biodiversity Heritage Library, herbarium sheets © Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, wood engraving and map © Alex Gourlay; p36 © University of Edinburgh; p37-39 modern-day replica, lichen & shadow images © Sally Foster, authors © Stuart Jeffery, others © Historic Environment Scotland (J R Scott Collection); p40 Andrew & Louise Carnegie © Library of Congress, reproduction no LC-USZ62-121416, Carnegie reproduction no LC-DIG-ds-10674; p42 Dunfermline © Kilburn, Ewart Library © S Thomas; p43 © B Thomas; p44 © B McNeil; p45 Kelso © Victuallers; p47 © C Down; p48 © D Sim, p49 Whithorn © T Parnell, Celtic cross © Wikivagant; p51 © National Records of Scotland; p53-55 Nova Scotia © Library of Congress, reproduction no LC-DIG-pga-07449; p58 postcard © National Museums Scotland; p59 C H. Mackie, There were Three Maidens pu'd a Flower (By the Bonnie Banks o' Fordie), c.1897. City Art Centre, Museums & Galleries Edinburgh, Hoard © National Museums Scotland; p60-62 photograph TR 911 from the collections of the Imperial War Museums; p66 © University of Glasgow.

history
SCOTLAND

LIVE IN THE USA OR CANADA?

Use our
FAST TRACK SERVICE
and receive your magazine within 7-10 days! Just visit
www.historyscotland.com



history
SCOTLAND

IMMERSE YOURSELF
in Scotland's wonderful history

Sign up to receive *History Scotland's* newsletter and be the first to enjoy...

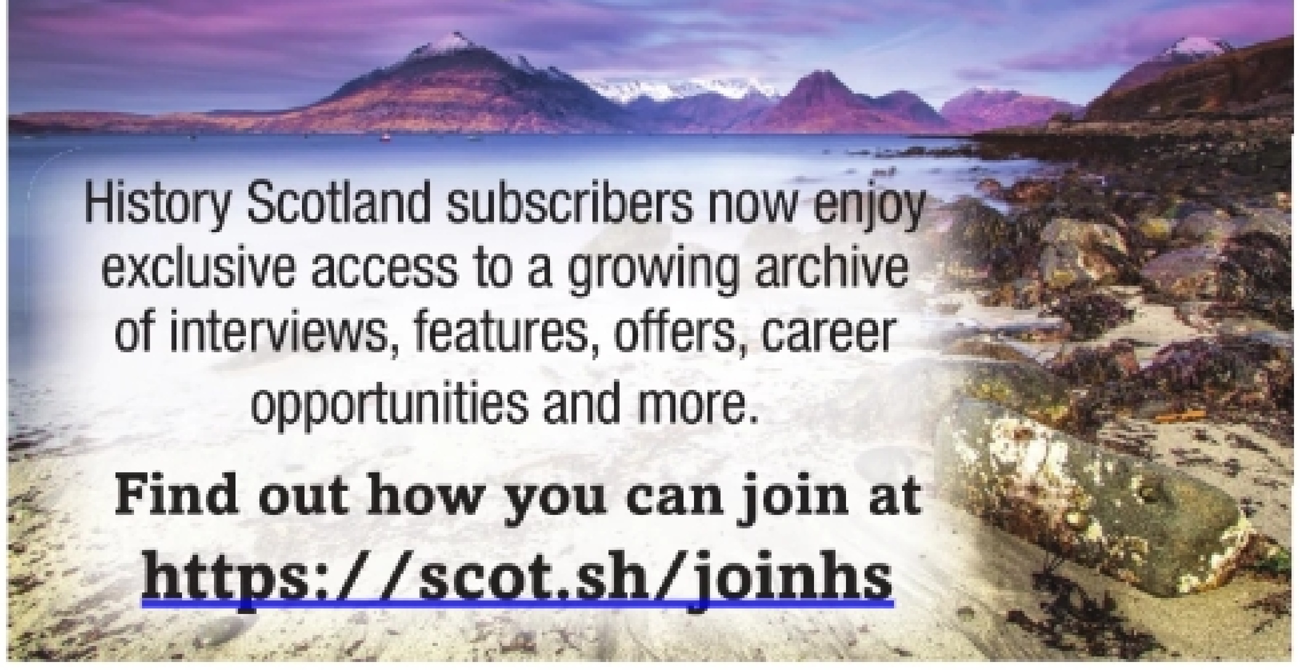
- ✓ Archaeology news and updates
- ✓ Get special offers and enter competitions
- ✓ Find out about events happening near you

Simply register online today:
scot.sh/hsregister

NEW! Exclusive Content section at
historyscotland.com

History Scotland subscribers now enjoy exclusive access to a growing archive of interviews, features, offers, career opportunities and more.

Find out how you can join at
https://scot.sh/joinhs



ADVERTISE HERE!

Contact Sarah
0113 2002925
sarah.hopton@warnersgroup.co.uk

history
SCOTLAND
Scottish witchcraft
HIGHLAND CLEARANCES
BRONZE AGE FINDS
SCOTLAND'S ROLE IN THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-48)

THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGY SOCIETY
Family History Centre

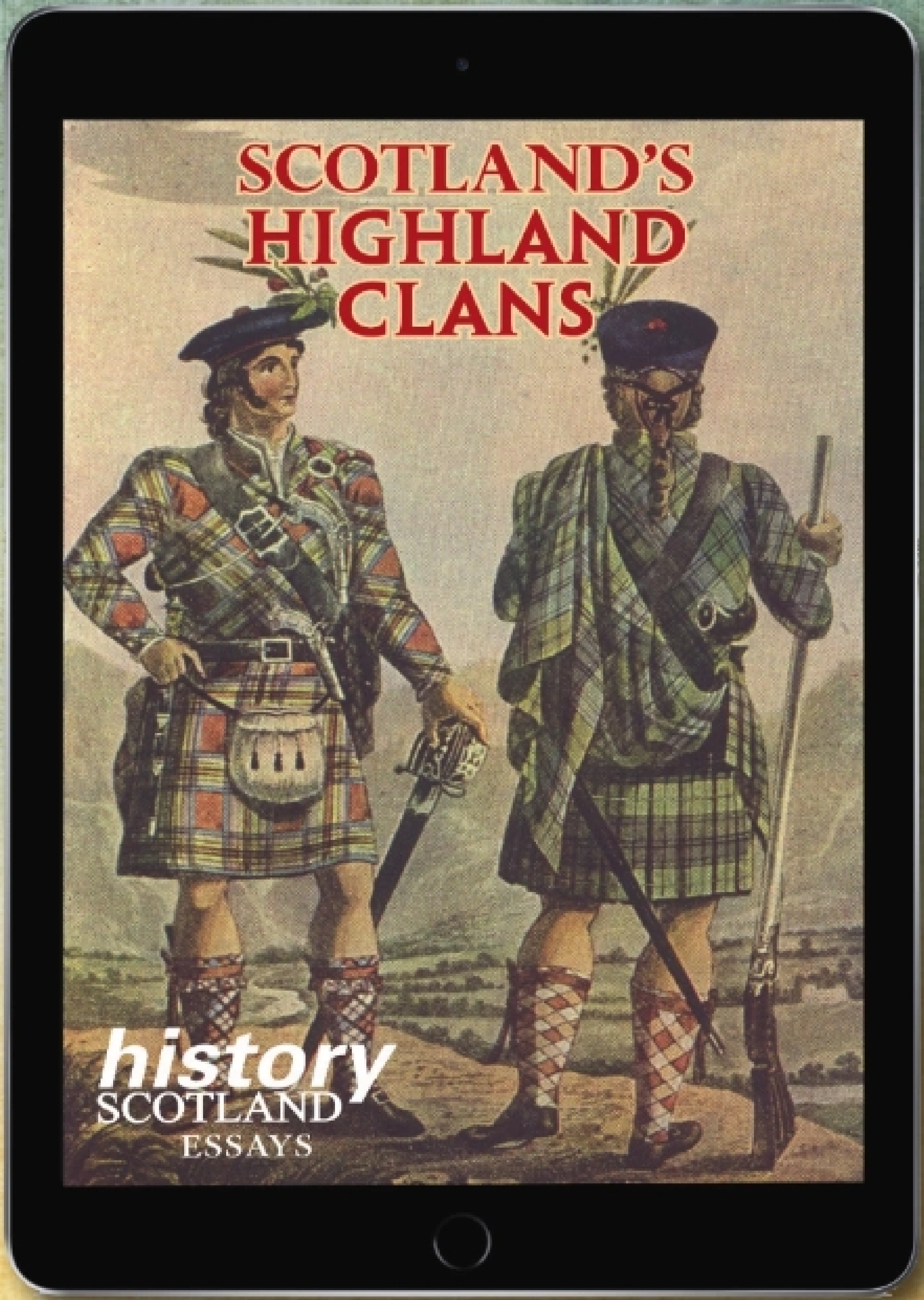
All Scotland's OPRs on film... census records...
Largest M.I. collection in Scotland and free access to
www.ancestry.co.uk and www.findmypast.co.uk
Open 5 days a week, except Friday & Sunday
Contact us at 15 Victoria Terrace, Edinburgh EH1 2JL
Telephone 0131 220 3677
enquiries@scotsgenealogy.com
www.scotsgenealogy.com

Dig deeper into

SCOTLAND'S RICH PAST

with our exclusive digital editions

500 YEARS OF SCOTTISH WOMEN
DIGITAL EXCLUSIVE
✓ PERSONALITIES
✓ HERITAGE
✓ HISTORY
STEWART VERSUS TUDOR
the rivalry that shaped a century
The terror of the ORKNEY WITCHCRAFT TRIALS
CENTURIES OF MIDWIFERY
history SCOTLAND


SCOTLAND'S HIGHLAND CLANS
history SCOTLAND ESSAYS

Your unofficial guide to OUTLANDER
EXPERT INSIGHT
VISIT FILMING LOCATIONS
OUTLANDER VIDEOS
SCOTTISH HISTORY GUIDE
DISCOVER THE FACT BEHIND THE FICTIO
John Knox's Edinburgh
EXCLUSIVE VIDEO
Exploring Edinburgh - walk the streets Knox would have known
PLUS
THE SECRETS OF EDINBURGH CASTLE
EXCLUSIVE VIDEO
The secrets of Edinburgh Castle

DOWNLOAD THEM TODAY!

https://scot.sh/histscotguides